Pope Alexander
the Seaventh.

I: Chantry sculp:

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Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES

NEPHEWS

From the time of *Sixtus* the IV.
to the Death of the laſt Pope
ALEXANDER the VII.

In two Parts.

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The Author to the

READER.

Kind Reader,

I should have much to say to thee, and not a few Ceremonies to Complement thee withall, if two Considerations did not make me resolve to hold my peace, and abstain from that courtship, which would become a Preface. The first *is, because I will not (as the Proverb sayes)* reckon without mine Hoste, *and fill thy ears with excuses, before I know whether thy intention be to hear them or no.* Secondly, *because I think it will not be amiss to forbear Ceremonies in the presence of so many, whose business it hath been to be most accomplish'd in performing of them. What danger would there be for once, to let a Reader judge of a Book, without all those troublesome informations from the Author: For in a word, either the Reader hath parts and learning, and then his own judgment needs no instruction from the Authors; or he hath none, and is illiterate, and then the Author loses his time in*

excuſing himſelf to one, whoſe abilities cannot reach his ſubject: But this our age being ſo far different from ancient times, wherein little notice was taken of the Author, though much of the thing written, it will be as juſt for him to inform his Reader, as for a Suppliant to inform his Judge, though never ſo learned, and to be recommended to him, though his caſe be never ſo juſt. A Friend of mine, calls the Advice to the Reader, the Sauce of the Book, becauſe it is that part, which gives us a ſtomach to read the reſt. I muſt confeſs, it is for his ſatisfaction that I give you mine; I know not how excellent it may prove to thy Palate: but my intention, is not, at leaſt, to put too much Salt in it; and indeed, with what can I ſeaſon it, or what Ingredients have I left to compound it withall? If I praiſe my own work, I ſhall incur the cenſure of an intereſſed Judge; if I diſpraiſe it, I ſhall do my ſelf an injury. To tell thee that this Book comes from Rome *is in vain, becauſe the very Title of it diſcovers the place of its birth; and to entreat thee to read it, would be juſt the way to ſtifle thy curioſity; for now adayes, every body deſires the reading of thoſe Books which are prohibited; and I am certain, that it were a good way, to incite the publick curioſity of the world*

for

for any Books, to intreat them that they would be pleaſed to let them alone, for that, without doubt, would encreaſe their deſire of ſeeing it. I think I had beſt do as thoſe Hunters, who for fear of raiſing the Partridge too ſoon, talk to one another ſo ſoftly, and ſo low, that they ſcarce hear themſelves ſpeak. Therefore, Reader, take notice, this is that famous Nipotiſmo di Roma, *ſo much deſired and wiſhed for by all the ingenious of* Europe, *before it was brought forth by the Author. I give thee warning to read it in private, and keep it to thy ſelf; for if the news of thy reading it come to the* Inquiſitors *ears, without doubt thou runneſt the hazard of an Excommunication; for they have ſworn, to indure no Books in* Italy, *but thoſe that ſhall flatter the* Court of Rome. *It is indeed a good policy for them, and for thoſe Church men, who having pretenſions to the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Honours, ſtand all day before the* Nipotiſmo *with their Caps in their hands. I know, that in* Rome *this Hiſtory will produce the ſame effect that our Nails do upon a Sore, that is, the more they ſcratch it, the worſe they make it: Yet the itching pleaſes every body, and the more we ſcratch, the more we have a mind to ſcratch ſtill. Neither do I doubt, but that there will be ſome*

flatterers

flatterers and falſe friends of the Nephews *of the* Popes, *who will expreſs their diſlike of this Treatiſe; but it will be only in appearance, and not from their hearts, which may be forgiven them, for ſeldome in* Rome *do the Tongue and the Heart correſpond.*

In the dayes of Innocent *the eighth, ſome body made a Book, intituled,* The Abuſes of the Churchmen, *very ſatyrical, for in it were all the Eccleſiaſticks Vices, but none of their Vertues, which indeed was ſomewhat ſevere: This Book was put into the* Popes *hands (who by judging things without paſſion, ſhewed himſelf to deſerve his elevation to ſo great a dignity) for having read it in the preſence of ſome* Prelates *of the* holy Office, *he turned to them, and ſaid,* This Book ſpeaks truth; and if we have a mind that the Author ſhould be found a lyar, we had beſt reform our ſelves firſt. *I wiſh to God, that in this our Age, there were many ſuch* Innocents, *and that all men were of ſo ſound a judgment, as to profit by good things, and laugh only at ill ones, or rather avoid them: For my part, I think, that if ever there hath been a Book in this world free from a flattering deſign and intereſt, that this is one of thoſe; for the Church of God will profit by it, the* Romans *will draw no ſmall pleaſure nor leſs*

advan-

advantage from the reading of it; and, I hope, that it will be a kind of Looking-glaſs to the Nephews *that are to come, whereby they may guide their actions, and ſteer their intentions to a better courſe then their Predeceſſors. There paſſed, not long ago, by this Town, a certain* Prelate *of* Tuſcany, *to whom I gave a ſight of this* Manuſcript *before it was printed; he took ſuch delight in peruſing of it, that he entreated me to haſten the publication of it, with theſe words*, For Gods ſake, Sir, inrich *Rome* with ſo great a Treaſure as this is; beſtow ſo good an example upon Princes Politicks, and illuſtrate all *Chriſtendome* with the demonſtration of ſo much zeal: *This was the opinion of a ſincere* Prelate. *But beſides, it is moſt certain, that the* Nephews, *as well thoſe that now bear ſway, as thoſe that are out of date, and thoſe that are to come, if they will judge without pre-occupation, will find, that this Hiſtory is of no ſmall concern to the promoting of their intereſt, conſidering, that the good which is ſaid of them doth much ſurpaſs the ill, and, that it demonſtrates how neceſſary a thing the* Nipotiſmo *is to the* City of Rome. *I do not pretend to any thanks or retribution for the good that ſhall happen to them; neither would I be content, that the harm, if there*

be

be any, ſhould reflect upon me. As for the Book, Reader, it is in thy hands, and muſt ſtand or fall by thy verdict: I therefore only deſire thee to pronounce ſincerely, whether it be not as neceſſary for all Europe *as for the City of* Rome. *I promiſe thee another Work, much more worthy thy curioſity, and fit for any body that hath a publick Employment, which is* Il Cardinaliſmo, *a Work, which ſpeaking in general only of that Dignity, doth yet nevertheleſs now and then deſcend to particulars. In a word, I call the* Cardinaliſmo, *and the* Nipotiſmo, *Brothers; but the* Cardinaliſmo *is the eldeſt, becauſe firſt conceived by me; in a moneth it will be Printed; if thou wilt have it, thou mayeſt, and I can aſſure you, it will pleaſe you infinitely.*

Farewell.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPE'S NEPHEWS.

The Firſt Part.

The FIRST BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is treated, of the difference that there is between the ancient and New Rome. *Of the manner of Governing of the ancient* Romans. *And of the manner of the* Popes *governing. Of the murmurs of the Gentiles, Heretick, and Catholicks, againſt the Church of* Rome *and the* Popes. *How to come to the knowledg of the preſent ſtate of* Rome *by the ſaid murmurs. Of the time in which people began to talk ill of the* Popes, *and of the cauſe of this their libertie. Of the* Popes *firſt bringing their kindred into* Rome. *Of*

the Infallibility of the Popes *in admitting their kindred to the Government of the State of the Church. Of the cauſes that ruin'd the old* Roman *Commonwealth: and of thoſe that leſſen the Honour and Grandeur of the Church of* Rome. *Why Chriſt choſe to be Born in a time of Peace. Of the Succeſſion of* Peter *to Chriſt. Of the Apoſtles to* Peter; *and of the* Popes *to the Apoſtles. Of the Holineſs of Church-men in the primitive Church. Why the vertue of doing Miracles is failed in the Popes. Why for many Ages the* Popes *Kindred did not much care to own their Relation to him. How the Church came firſt to be ſo Rich. Of the Court of* Rome. *Of the Politick Wit of Church-men. Of the advantage that Politicians gain in frequenting* Rome. *And of ſome particular maximes of* Innocent *the Tenth, which were of utility to himſelf.*

ROME alone amongſt all the other Cities of the World can brag of the reputation, of having been alwayes eſteemed the Mother of Nations, the whole Univerſe having almoſt alwayes taken a pride in paying to her a Tribute of filial Duties, in acknowledgment of which ſhe has alſo opened her breaſts, and preſſed her Duggs for the nouriſhment of thoſe who deſired to encreaſe by their obedience to Her, and be free from thoſe dangers to which they are ſubject that have not Parents or powerful Protectors.

The glories of *Rome* were never equalled, no more then *Rome* it ſelf. *Rome* hath been ſeen in all the Cities of the World, not only commanding, but

but triumphing; and in *Rome* have been ſeen at divers times, not only Cities, but whole Provinces, nay, whole Kingdomes, obeying, and ſubmitting. *Rome* ſeems to be born to rule the World, and with a great deal of reaſon, ſince not only it hath done, but doth ſtill exerce its Empire over a great part of it.

It ruled while it was a Commonwealth; and not content with that Empire which nature, or to ſay better, the valour of its Citizens had purchaſed for it, it propoſed to acquire all that it could think on, and ſtill the acquiſitions ſeemed ſmall in compariſon of that which remained to be acquired.

It rul'd in the time of the *Roman* Emperours, who made Lawes, and domineered over mankind as they pleaſed; nay, which was worſe, tyranny it ſelf came often from *Rome* to infect the reſt of the Univerſe which was ſubject to this ſeat of Tyrants.

But why ſhould we recall paſt Ages, and renew thoſe wounds, which though not healed, are nevertheleſs worn out by the length of time; why ſhould we praiſe *Rome* for having ruled the World, if now at this preſent it rules it more then ever, and domineers over it in a new manner.

In the time of the Commonwealth, in the time of the Emperours, *Rome* never pretended to command conſciences, and exact from ſoules that Tribute which now they pay to the *Vatican*.

Every City had its Biſhop, every Village its Curate, and every Church its Preacher, who in his Sermons did not make it his buſineſs to exalt *Rome*; neither did the Biſhop, nor the Curate

expect the rules of governing their flock from *Rome*.

But now quite contrary maximes have prevailed; for *Rome*, not content with the temporal power, hath perverted the order of Government, and made the temporal submit to the spiritual, contrary to the received custome of so many Ages.

If the Commonwealth subdued Nations, if the *Roman* Emperours commanded over kingdomes, they did it in such a manner, that those that obeyed seemed to have had more content then those that commanded; for they let them enjoy the liberty of their souls, and required only from them a Civil Obedience in compliance with the interest of the State.

But the *Popes* having confounded and mingled together the temporal and spiritual power, laying the stress upon the spiritual, do oblige Princes and people to so exact an obedience, that the only mention of it is able to scare our hearts and minds.

The *Popes* shutting of Paradise and Heaven when they please, their opening of Hell when they think good, are things that oblige whole Nations to forget the Obedience due to their natural Princes, and to prostrate themselves at his Holinesses his feet. The Commonwealth which ruled with so much wisdome and Policie, the Emperours who governed with the strength of Arms, and the Tyrants who domineered with cruelty, had they but known these secret maximes, might have humbled Nations and reduced Cities with a great deal less paines, and more security.

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The *Popes* having being armed with the Soveraigne Authority over consciences, have so increased the glories of *Rome*, that there is scarce a corner in *Europe*, not a place in *Asia*, not a desart in *Africa*, nor a hidden solitude in *America*, where the name of the *Pope* hath not penetrated, and where there is not some discourse of *Rome*.

The *Gentiles* praise the *Popes*, and despise *Rome*; the Hereticks praise *Rome*, and despise the *Popes*; and the Catholicks despise both *Rome* and *Popes* with a greater, though secreter, disdain, then either the *Gentiles* or the Hereticks, of which I shall give the reasons.

The *Pagans* attribute all the mischief of *Rome* to that great number of Church-men with which this City is pestred. The Hereticks, on the other side, lay all the Church-mens disorders upon the *Pope*; and therefore the Hereticks are willing enough to be reconcil'd to *Rome*; but by no means will endure the *Pope*. The *Pagans*, on the contrary, are content to be friends with the *Pope*, but not with *Rome*.

This proceeds from the distinctions that the Heathens make in the person of the *Popes*, separating the spiritual from the temporal, and Religion from Civil Government; therefore in the time of *Sixtus* the V. and *Gregory* the *XV*. the *Persians* and *Japponeses* sent their Ambassador to *Rome*, taking no small pride in the *Popes* friendship, whom they esteemed as one of the powerfullest Princes of *Italy*, and for his greatnes desired his Amity; their maxime being to make alliances with the most potent Princes of the World; they thought they could not better address them-

ſelves then to him, whom all the other Chriſtian Princes did adore and reverenee as their head.

The Hereticks deſtroy all this, being neither diſpoſed to acknowledg the *Pope* as a temporal Prince, nor as a ſpiritual Paſtor; ſo that with them, Popedome, Principality, Religion, Civil Government, all goes down, when they ſpeak of the *Pope*.

Nay, I know a Gentleman of that Religion, who can by no means be perſwaded that the *Pope* is maſter of *Rome*, and Prince of the Eccleſiaſtick State, though all the Princes of the world acknowledg him to be ſo; and for all this, the Proteſtant Gentleman cannot be brought to believe it, but ſtands firme upon the Negative.

Of the ſame humour was a great Lord in *Spain*, who could never be convinced, that *Henry* the fourth was King of *France*, though he knew that his own King did acknowledge him for ſuch, and had ſent an Embaſſadour to him, that all differences upon that ſubject were lay'd, and that all the Crowns in *Europe* did own him to be lawful King. And yet for all this the good Don could never believe that which all the world was ſure of, and he died in this incredulous humour.

Now as for the murmurs that the *Gentiles*, the Hereticks, and the Catholicks have againſt *Rome*, there is this difference between them. The Heathens murmure upon what they hear; the Hereticks againſt thoſe things that they do not believe; and the Catholicks againſt thoſe things they ſee; and certainly of them all the Catholicks murmurs are the worſt: for the eyes being as it were the

treaſurer

treasurers of the heart, do furnish it so abundantly with the impressions which they receive, that it never is dispossessed of them afterwards; the *Proverb* being very true, which sayes, *That in vain we fly from that which we carry in our hearts.* Therefore the Catholicks, murmuring boldly, because they see the abuses of *Rome*, are much more believed then the others.

But indeed to speak truth, if we ballance the reasons that these three sorts of persons have to talke disadvantagiously of *Rome*, we shall find that the Hereticks have the greatest and most weighty arguments of their discontent.

But before I prove this, it is necessary to give notice that I make a distinction betwixt Hereticks and *Protestants*, though the Church of *Rome* does confound both these denominations; for they are Hereticks who deny the true Religion for a false one, which they set up without any foundation of reason, thinking that their own opinion is enough.

The *Protestants* are those that abhorre innovations, and do tie themselves to the sense of the Holy Scripture, denying every thing they find not in those Sacred Records: and for my part, I intend to speak only of the *Protestants*, not of the Hereticks.

Let us return to our subject, and say, that the *Popes* do neither good nor harme to the Heathens; to the Catholicks they do both good and evil; and to the *Protestants* alwayes ill, and never good. Looking upon the Heathens as neuters, upon the Catholicks as their friends, and upon the *Protestants* as their greatest enemies.

From thence it proceeds that the Catholicks are more ſcandalized at the *Popes* errours; for they being friends are admitted to dive into the bottom of the diſorders: The Proteſtants ſeeing that the *Popes* do not only ſuſpect them, but openly profeſs enmity with them, do buſie all their induſtry in penetrating into thoſe hidden myſteries of the Court of *Rome*, that they may not be ſurpriſed, but have wherewith to defend themſelves in their diſputes: and therefore that which they report of the Court of *Rome* is moſt ordinarily true.

The Heathens let *Rome* alone as long as *Rome* lets them alone; and they talke according to the informations they receive from Catholicks and Proteſtants.

Whoſoever therefore intends to draw a quinteſſence of truth out of ſo many different relations, muſt not give credit only to what the Catholicks ſay; for they being friends and dependants of the *Pope*, cannot do leſs for their own reputation, as well as for his, then to hide the abuſes and palliate the diſorders of his Court; neither ought he to take his informations from the Proteſtants alone, becauſe they, being prepoſſeſſed with an averſion to the *Pope*, cannot chuſe but be blinded by their pre-occupation, and ſay more then is true, in diſcredit of the proceedings of his Court.

The method of Hiſtory would require a ſtrict examination of the relations of both parties in matter of fact, and a ballance of their opinions in matter of policy, and upon ſo mature a diſcuſſion it were fit to frame the body of the Hiſtory, and found the maximes of policy; for the Hiſtory would then be true, and the maximes certain.

This

This hath alwayes been my way of writing, insomuch that many, both Proteſtants and Catholicks, have not been able to diſtinguiſh my Religion in my works, nor know whether the Author were Proteſtant or Catholick; and this becauſe of the ſincerity with which I praiſe, in both parties, that which deſerves commendation, and blame vice, let it be where it will, and in what place and perſon ſoever.

But to ſay true, this preſent age hath ſo corrupted and perverted the art of writing, that ſome write only to flatter, and others to ſatyrize; and there is no ingenious Catholick but muſt confeſs, that there are publiſh'd every day more Libels by the Catholicks againſt *Rome*, then Satyres by the Proteſtants againſt the Popes; theretore now adayes the wiſer ſort of men give more credit to a Proteſtants relation, then to a Catholicks, meeting with leſs paſſion in the firſt then in the laſt, againſt the Popes and *Rome*.

I have been a great while in Proteſtant Countries, and have likewiſe made no ſmall ſtay in *Rome*, where I have heard a thouſand and a thouſand times, both Romans and Proteſtants, diſcourſe of the Popes Nephews, and their actions; but I muſt confeſs, that in *Geneva* it ſelf I never heard any diſcourſe ſo full of liberty, nor ſo ſatyrical, as thoſe which the Romans, nay the Prelates themſelves have vented in my preſence, concerning the Popes and the Eccleſiaſtick authority.

Nay, I'le ſay more, and it is a thing I am very ſure of, having heard it often ſaid by perſons of great underſtanding; the Proteſtant Gentlemen that travel to *Rome* are much more ſcandalized at the

the Romans proceedings towards the *Popes*, then the Catholick Gentlemen, who travel in *Proteſtant* Countries, are to hear the *Pope* defam'd and ill ſpoken of amongſt them.

The *Proteſtants*, when they talk with Catholicks, becauſe they cannot reaſonably expect to be believed, do conceal the greateſt part of the imperfections of the *Popes* kindred; but the Catholicks ſay a great deal more then becomes them, thinking thereby to ſhow their averſion to vice.

More then all this, I ſay, that of all that is ſaid in *Rome* concerning the *Popes* actions, and his kindred, there is none of it comes from the North, but from *Rome* it ſelf; but on the contrary, even all that is ſaid in the North, ſprings from *Rome*, and is not born in the *Proteſtants* Country.

The Romans make the *Paſquins* in *Rome*, and then to excuſe themſelves lay them upon the *Proteſtants*: thus the *Pope* is abuſed and deceived by the Romans themſelves; ſo that then we may ſay with a great deal of reaſon, that out of *Rome* it ſelf ſprings the ſource of all the harm it receives.

I wonder now no longer to ſee the change of ſtile which *I* have obſerved in Writers from age to age, ſince in the Court of *Rome* they change their way of living and ſpeaking from day to day.

In the time that the *Popes* had golden conſciences, and wooden walls, when with bare feet and clothed with ſackcloth they went from door to door, accepting the charity of the faithful for

their

their ſuſtenance, and that full of zeal they adminiſtred themſelves the Sacraments, expoſing their lives for the ſafety of their flock. When the *Popes* applyed themſelves only to their paſtoral charge, without concerning themſelves in *Princes* temporal intereſts: *Rome* in thoſe dayes knew nothing of other *Princes* Courts, neither did the Courts of *Princes* concern themſelves for *Rome*; there was ſo little mention made of the *Popes*, that the Church-men and Biſhops did ſcarce know where to find them in their moſt important neceſſities.

It would have been indeed a great ſacriledge to have ſpoken ill of a *Pope*, who from morning to evening did nothing but viſit the ſick, diſtribute the Sacraments, comfort the people, and ſerve the Altar with true zeal and piety.

But when once the face of things was changed, and that the *Popes*, weary of ſerving to the Altars, reſolved to be ſerved by the Altars themſelves, when thinking it too low an employment to viſit the ſick, they pretended to be viſited themſelves by the greateſt *Princes*, and have their feet kiſſed by them; theſe *Popes*, who were at firſt the edification of whole Nations, became a ſcandal to all the Kingdoms, for both *Princes* and people being ſurpriſed with this ſudden change, and wondring at this new ſcene of grandeur, gave themſelves up to ſeek into the reaſon of this alteration; and as it often happens, that in the Enquiries into one defect we diſcover another, ſo the world found out in the *Popes* change ſo many new ſubjects for murmuring and diſcontent, that from thence enſued Schiſmes and Herſies, with

with an infinite prejudice to the Church of *Rome*.

If the Popes would have been content to have been the heads of the Church in holineſs and good life, and not in majeſty and grandeur, the world would never have conceived ſo many ſiniſter thoughts of their actions; therefore if there be murmurs in *Rome*, and the reſt of Chriſtendome, the Popes may thank themſelves, for the fault is not in thoſe that murmur, but in thoſe that furniſh them with a lawful ſubject for their complaints.

But let us ſpeak truth: In the time that the Popes left to the Emperours the ſecular care of government, and all the intereſts of the temporal ſtate, holineſs and good life did ſhine in the Popes, as well as in the Church and Churchmen; miracles were frequent, and Saints multiplied as faſt as tyrant Emperours.

But as ſoon as the Popes uſurped the civil power, and began to meddle with ſtate matters, their holineſs diſappeared, miracles vaniſhed, and by a ſtrange mutation the Emperors became Saints, and the Popes as paſſionate for the temporal intereſt as the greateſt Tyrants.

The Hereticks go further, and ſay, that the Popes are really Tyrants, as having introduced the Inquiſition, which by conſtraining mens conſciences to an exteriour worſhip of what they abhor, does more ſeverely puniſh the breach of one of the Popes Orders, then it does the violation of one of Gods Commandements.

To this the Popes oppoſe, as a defence, the reaſon of policy, that obliges them to eſtabliſh the Inquiſi-

Inquisition, leaving to their Divines the task of answering the other more sharp objection; who having no other way to extricate themselves from that difficulty, have written, to confute the hereticks, such vast volumns of Controversie, that they being not able to read them, remain in their obstinacy, with no small dammage to the Pope and his Divines.

But this strange change of the Popes, from spiritual to temporal, and from holy Bishops to politick Princes, is not so much to be attributed to the Popes themselves, as to their Nephews and kindred, there is the source and origin of the disease; for while the Popes lead a private life, and let their Nephews alone in their own homes, they were eminent for their zeal to the true Religion; but they had no sooner introduced them into *Rome*, but forgetting themselves, they fell to idolizing their Nephews, and for the increase of their greatness, employed not only the gold of the Church, but even all the pains and fatigues of the Popedom, nay even the consciences of their whole flock.

Experience teaches us, that many Popes, and particularly those of the greatest reputation, in the beginning of their Popedome did not only renounce their kindred, and refuse to own them, but with a solemn oath did protest to the Cardinals, that they would govern alone, and not admit their kindred upon any pretext whatsoever; so far they were from giving them a share in the government.

Alexander the seventh, who now lives, was one of those for a time, and from him we may conclude

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of the thoughts of the reſt; for in the beginning of his Pontificat he ſhewed himſelf to be ſo averſe from his kindred, that ſome thought him a Saint, or at leaſt a man much above the frailties of humane nature.

Don Mario his Brother, *Don Agoſtino* his Nephew, and the Cardinal that now is, did every day offer up their prayers to Heaven, for a change in their Uncles inclination; the Ambaſſadors of Princes and the Cardinals, did nothing but weary themſelves out in alledging to his Holineſs the neceſſity of introducing his kindred, that it would be not only honourable, but of great advantage to the State and Church.

Yet the good Pope remaining unſhaken in his opinion, was reſolved to deny all their Inſtances, nay, often would be exceedingly ſcandalized at thoſe that preſſed him to it, ſaying, he could not in conſcience condeſcend to their deſires; as one day being importun'd upon the ſame occaſion by Father *Palavicino*, a Jeſuit, and his Confeſſor, who now is Cardinal, he anſwered him in theſe words, *Your obligation, father, is to abſolve from ſins, and not invite to commit them.*

Of this humour hath not been *Alexander* alone, but in the lives of the Popes there are many other ſuch examples, as that of *Adrian* the ſixth, and *Pius* the fifth, who were wont to ſay, *that they would make it their task to perſwade the world that they could live without kindred.*

Now I would fain know, from whence proceeded in them this humour, ſo oppoſite to the others? if from an averſion and a kind of hatred to their relations, then certainly it was a ſin, ſince

ſince we have as a Commandment from God, *Deſpiſe not thy own fleſh*; if to make ſhew of an apparent zeal, that was worſe, for they were guilty both before the world and God Almighty; if out of a deſign of firſt beſtowing kindneſſes on their Friends before they gave themſelves up to their Nephews, it was a prepoſterous charity, which ought to have begun nearer home.

It remains then to conclude, that certainly theſe Popes, who made this profeſſion of diſowning their Relations, did it, becauſe they were really perſwaded, that the errors of their predeceſſors did proceed from this principle of admitting their kindred to a ſhare in the government, and therefore they thought fit to free themſelves from ſo great an imputation.

Therefore to ſave the reputation of the *Papal* dignity, I am forced to ſay, that thoſe *Popes*, who at firſt did profeſs an averſion to their kindred, and yet afterwards admitted them, were certainly ſeiſed with ſome melancholy humors and capriciouſneſs, which made them commit ſuch errors. It muſt not ſeem ſtrange if I call them errors, ſince reaſon it ſelf muſt needs call them ſo; for firſt, to be perſwaded that their predeceſſors had failed in admitting their kindred into *Rome*, and in giving up the government of the Church into their hands; then, to ſwear and proteſt to keep theirs at a diſtance, that they may be freed from the like miſcarriages; and after all this, not onely to call them into *Rome*, give them the Keys of the treaſure, and put all the adminiſtration of the temporal and ſpiritual into their hands, whereby to make themſelves Princes, but alſo to give them

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an absolute authority over the Church, the Popedome, nay, the very person of the Pope; this is certainly to demonstrate, that the Pope hath the power of making that to be good and just, which he hath condemn'd for bad & mischievous; which if the people of *Rome*, or the Courtiers, do believe, certainly people of judgment and sound understanding do not.

As for me, I have not hitherto denyed that opinion of the Roman Divines, *viz. that the Popes cannot erre*; but when once I came to see the falsity of it proved in the person of *Alexander* the seventh, certainly I have had a mind to curse those Divines, that flatter thus the Popes, not out of a design to serve the Church, but to make themselves great; and we know very well, that there are now many of them living, who have been made Cardinals, meerly because they had writ to the advantage and honour of the Pope, which thing still stirs up others to do the same; but let them write what they will, all the world shall never perswade me, but that the proceeding of *Alexander* towards his kindred, in calling them to him, contrary to his oath, is as great an error as ever Pope committed.

Yet let us do them the favour to interpret their Doctrine their own way, and allow of their distinction, that is, that the Popes are infallible in matters of faith, but not in matters of policy; let it be so; but if we do them this kindness, I hope they will be so civil as to requite it with another: we desire them then to tell us a little; The Popes Nephews, have they not the same authority as the Popes themselves, who invest them with

with it as soon as they are admitted into the *Vatican*, they govern all affairs, politick, civil, ecclesiastick, and in a word, sacred, prophane, divine, all things pass through their hands. Then with them sometimes the Popes may erre, even in matters of faith, since often in matters of faith they trust their Nephews, who being men subject to passions, are admitted by all to be capable of error.

I would fain ask you, whether *Alexander* the seventh, who had so great an aversion to his kindred at first, had the assistance of the holy Ghost, or whether he had it not?

If you answer he had it not, I am well pleased, and do profess with you, that I think that policy and humane reasons were the causes of his proceedings.

But if he had the holy Ghost, how then can you reconcile his first refusing to admit the calling his Nephews to his assistance? for either it was good or bad to admit them to his help in so great a charge; if good, then he failed at first in keeping them away, and shewing himself so alienated from them; if bad, then he failed at last, in repealing his first resolution, and betraying the Church and its riches into their hands.

The holy Ghost is infallible, and to believe the contrary is a high impiety; how is it then that the *Popes* have the holy Ghost, and yet cannot abstain from failing? certainly to me it appears a kind of Blasphemy and prophanation of the honour of the Divinity. We know that the holy Ghost inspires nothing but what is good, and yet we see that the *Popes* do commit ill. The Protes-

ſtants do utterly deny this opinion, and demonſtrate by good proofs, that the *Pope* neither hath, nor can have the holy Ghoſt in a more particular manner then other men; but for my part I believe that the holy Ghoſt is in the *Popes* when he pleaſes, and they receive him when they can.

So to ſave the reputation of *Pope Alexander* the ſeventh, I'le ſay, that in the beginning of his *Pontificat* he had not the holy Ghoſt, for if he had, he would have received his kindred; but the holy Ghoſt begun to take poſſeſſion of the *Pope*, juſt at the ſame time that his kindred took poſſeſſion of *Rome*, and of the Church; and therefore the good man was much to blame to keep the holy Ghoſt and his kindred out ſo long together, ſince by this means he deprived himſelf of the riches of the Spirit, and his Relations of the riches of this world: But now he hath mended his error, and made amends for all. Many believe that the *Popes* erre with their kindred, and their kindred with them; but for my part I believe that the Apoſtles did not erre, becauſe that they received the holy Ghoſt from Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; but the Popes do erre becauſe they receive the holy Ghoſt from the Divines, who give it them, how and when they pleaſe: I know what I ſay.

Often *Rome* hath loſt the order of its government, becauſe it was become a prey to the ambition of its Subjects; and as often it hath been brought upon the brim of its ruine, by gold and riches.

Old *Rome* had much ado to preſerve it ſelf by an infinite number of ſevere Laws, and at laſt did make

make a ſhift betwixt good and bad times, to rub out ſome Ages, till new *Rome* came and took its place. By old *Rome* I mean that *Rome* that was founded by *Romulus*, and ended at the time of our Saviour: and by new *Rome* I underſtand *Rome* that was born in Chriſt, and lives even now in him. Now if the ancient City of *Rome* came to its ruine through ambition and covetouſneſs, it will become us to conſider what effects theſe very ſame things do produce in our new *Rome*.

When we ſpeak of *Rome*, we ſpeak of a City that deſires to be acknowledged by all Nations, as the head of Chriſtendom. Now let us ſee the difference betwixt the Pagan and the Chriſtian *Rome*, the old and the new.

In the time that our Saviour was born in *Bethlehem*, to deſtroy this old *Rome* of the Heathens, and give the foundation of this new Chriſtian City, *Auguſtus* not only commanded, that all the Nations of the Roman Empire ſhould be numbred, to ſhew, that with the coming of Chriſt there was a new Empire begun, but likewiſe he brought all the world into a calm peace and tranquility; ſo that our Saviour no ſooner appeared, but peace was the joy and comfort of the whole Univerſe. Chriſt choſe to be born in a time of peace, and not of war and miſery, for two cauſes: Firſt, to ſet a difference betwixt the new and old *Rome*; the old having been founded in blood and diſſention, under the government of *Romulus* a Pagan, it was more then juſt, that the new ſhould begin with peace, under the dominion of the King of Kings, the holy One of *Iſrael*. Secondly, to the end that the Succeſſors of the

Apoſtles, who were to reſide in *Rome*, might not one day excuſe their faults, with alledging the beginnings of the Chriſtian Religion for example; and therefore our Saviour took poſſeſſion of *Rome* in peace, and delivered it to thoſe Popes, who were to govern *Rome* and *Chriſtendome*.

To Chriſt ſucceeded *Peter*, to *Peter* the Popes, as the Divines of *Rome* teach, and do endeavour to prove, againſt the Proteſtants, as a principal point of Religion.

The Popes then took poſſeſſion of this new *Rome*, with the holineſs of life; and when firſt they eſtabliſhed this Eccleſiaſtical Senate, they choſe out men ſo holy, and of ſo good a life, that the Citizens willingly ſubmitted to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of ſuch Governours.

Ambition was then ſo far from the hearts of the Biſhops, that not only many Prelates did renounce their Biſhopricks, but alſo many retir'd from the *Vatican*, where they were adored, into deſerts and ſolitudes, to ſerve God their Creator without trouble.

Gold had not yet found the way to *Rome*, becauſe there was no hand that would receive it, no Treaſurer to keep it, and all its glittering was much below that vertue, which did ſo eminently ſhine in thoſe that were the Guardians of *Rome*. Woe would have been to that man, who ſhould have opened himſelf a door to preferment in the Church with a golden Key; the Excommunications, the Laws, the pains of this and the next world, were fulminated againſt Simony, which was as much abhorred by all the Church-men then, as it is now practiſed.

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In one thing alone old *Rome* did not agree in its beginnings with the new; for one promoted to its higheſt honours, thoſe Citizens who had ſhed their blood, and could produce noble ſcars received in the defence of their Country; but the other beſtowed Offices and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities upon thoſe, who in conſideration of another world did deſpiſe this, and mortified their fleſh and affections. The *Roman* Empire riſe by Valours, the *Roman* Church by Holineſs.

The Actions of thoſe, that pretended to any place of publick employment in old *Rome*, were examined by the Senate; and the ſervices, which the State had received from theſe Candidates, were as it were ballanced with the honour they ambitioned, and the weight of the place they ſtood for: and if thoſe ſervices were ſuch, as to be able to weigh down theſe ſcales of equity, the Candidate was ſure to obtain his deſires; if they proved too light, he was forced to ſtay, and with new Endeavours encreaſe the obligation the publick had to him already.

Juſt in the ſame manner did the Popes at firſt proceed in the diſtribution of the charges of the Church; for having ballanced the holineſs of life, and excellency of parts of him who was to be admitted, with the weightineſs of the place; if the goodneſs of life was ſo eminent, as to ſurpaſs the exigency of the Office, the Demandant was without delay preferred, otherwiſe he was ſent away with ſhame and confuſion.

The Conqueſts of Kingdoms, and the ſubduing of Provinces, were the Keys, with which the

Romans opened to themſelves the door of honour, and an entrance into the Senate; but in new *Rome*, perſecutions, martyrdoms, and mortifications, were the fore-runners of Chriſtian Dignities, and the only way to Biſhopricks and Popedoms.

While the Popes lived thus, and that this age of holineſs laſted, it was with a great deal of reaſon, that the reſt of the world called their *Rome*, *Roma la Santa*, *Rome* the holy: The Popes were looked upon to be more like Angels then Men, not only becauſe their actions were altogether heavenly, but becauſe that living in this world, without owning any of their kindred, they ſeemed rather ſent from Heaven, then taken from the midſt of mankind.

There hath been ſome Popes, who while they were Biſhops and Cardinals did reckon an incredible number of Nephews and Cozens; and yet no ſooner were they promoted to the higheſt Prelature, but all their kindred vaniſhed and diſappeared, as if they had never had any.

If in thoſe times you had asked any of them if they were a-kin to the Pope, he would have denyed it openly, ſo little did the Popes care for their kindred, and their kindred for them: The cauſe of this was, that the Popes did not meaſure in their kindred their deſerts, by any carnal affection they had for them, but compared their merits by the Standard of Chriſtian perfection; ſo that if a Kinſman of a Pope ſhould have happened to have had, for competitour in any place, one not much above him in learning and piety, yet without doubt he ſhould have yielded to this

this his Competitour, and gone without his pretenſions.

Hence it came, that the Popes kindred, that they might not receive affronts in *Rome*, did forbear to come at the City; and leaſt the world ſhould by their abſence conclude of the meanneſs of their deſerts, they would give it out, that they were in no wayes related to the *Pope*, whoſe kindred they were, ſaving thus their honour without honour.

In thoſe times, the *Popes* did often reſiſt the Emperours tyrannical proceedings, and withſtood their injuries, not with Armies and Fleets, but with Zeal and Piety they did boldly oppoſe their vices and corruptions; as amongſt others, *Gregory* the ſeventh excommunicated the Emperour *Henry*, and baniſhed him from all commerce with the reſt of his Chriſtians, only becauſe he had received I know not what ſum of money from a Biſhop, who us'd his favour to be preferr'd to a vacant Biſhoprick.

Rome was then truly holy without ambition, and without gold; and glorious were the *Popes*, who with their zeal and good actions made barbarous Kings tremble, and Tyrants humble themſelves to the yoak of Chriſtian Religion; and indeed who would not obey that *Pope*, that ſhould prefer true merit and deſerts before Relations and Kindred, Vertue before Vice, Learning before Ignorance, Zeal before Ambition, *Poverty* before Riches, his Flock before his Kindred, and Juſtice before Favour and Recommendations?

But if hitherto we have ſpoken of *Rome* with-

out corruption, and of Popes full of zeal and holineſs, ſo we muſt now conſider *Rome* under another habit, that is, not holy, but wicked, not pure and innocent, but defiled and full of ambition and avarice.

While the Popes lived in this retired manner, deveſted of all earthly affections to their kindred, and inclin'd only to recompence deſerts and goodneſs, *Rome* was happy and holy; but as ſoon as Chriſtian modeſty began to be baniſh'd by worldly pomps, that favour took place of merit, that ambition overpowered humility, and covetouſneſs laughed at charity, the Popes began to loſe their credit, *Rome* its goodneſs, the Church its Saints, and there ſtarted up another Church, another *Rome*, and other Popes.

And no ſooner did the love of riches take poſſeſſion of *Rome*, but *Chriſtendom* was engaged in deſperate Schiſms, with no ſmall affliction to the real and pious part of the Chriſtian world.

Two hundred and twenty ſix years after the birth of Chriſt, the Popes began to change their poverty into riches, and with them introduced ambition into the Church; this was done in the time of *Urban* the firſt, who ordained, that the Church ſhould poſſeſs land, riches, power, command, and all other conveniencies, to the end that Church-men might be rewarded out of the revenues of the Church it ſelf.

Before *Urban*'s time, Eccleſiaſticks were to truſt to the alms of the faithful, and their charity; and whilſt that laſted, they thought of nothing elſe then the conduct of Souls, having no care to take, either for the encreaſe or conſervation of their

their Fortunes; but as ſoon as they ſaw the Church enriched with Abbyes, Canonicates, and other revenues, they fell to diſputing among themſelves, every one deſiring the poſſeſſion of the richeſt benefice.

Urban in doing this had nevertheleſſe no ill intention; and if his Succeſſors had followed his ſteps, the revenues of the Church had certainly animated *Romes* greatneſs, and yet deminiſh'd nothing of the Churches riches.

When I ſpeak of the riches of the Church, I mean, not the temporal, but the ſpiritual riches, as St. *Laurence* underſtood it, when being asked by the Emperour where were the riches of the Church, he produced before him a multitude of poor impotent beggars, but of a good life.

Therefore the Church became poor in Saints, and rich in ambitious Eccleſiaſticks, who did now employ that time which they uſed to ſpend in the Churches, and at the feet of our Saviour, with the Popes and Biſhops, in reckoning up the Revenues of their Abbies, and procuring preferments to themſelves and others.

The bringing of temporal riches into the Church was a poiſon which infected the Church, and made the Church-men ſwell, 'till at laſt they were ready to burſt with their own venome. As the Church encreaſed in revenues, *Rome* decreaſed in Holineſs and Holy men, and Saints forſook it when once Courtiers and men of buſineſs came into it. I meane living Saints; for as for dead Saints there are too many in it ſtill, it being a part of its Trade to doe now for Gold and Riches, that which before was done by poverty and ſelf-denial, I mean, Canoniſing of Saints. Be-

Before the Church enjoyed temporal revenues, there was modesty in the Church-mens Apparel, but with the introduction of riches, pride, pomp, and vanity took place; then were invented Mitets, Scarlet Robes with long Traines, Copes, and Tippets; so that with the expense that one is at now to cloath a Prelate or a Cardinal many poor might be fed and covered, and particularly poor Priests, who are faine to beg from Laicks that which their own Prelates should bestow upon them.

Though things were carryed on with this corruption, yet was it not come to that pass that the Popes durst bring their Nephewes to the Sterne, and Government of St. *Peters* Vessel; they were content to rule the temporal and spiritual without controle, but did not think of entayling the Popedome upon their kindred, which made their Nephews and Relations keep at a distance, being unwilling to be seen in *Rome* without command and power.

Nicholas the third in the year 1229, went about to make two of his Nephewes of the House of the *Ursins* Kings, one of *Toscany*, and the other *Lumbardy*, to the end that one should keep the *Germans* in awe, who have one part of the *Alpes*, and the other the *French*, who were then Masters of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*: and that he might compass his designe with lesse trouble, he perswaded *Peter* King of *Arragon* to undertake the recovery of the Kingdome of *Sicily*, to which he had a right by *Constantine* his Wife.

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But all theſe deſignes ſoon vaniſhed and were buried in the Tombe of the *Popes* brain, where they were firſt conceived. 'Tis true, that many ſay, that the *Pope* did this, only to ſatisfie the preſſing inſtances of his Nephewes: but becauſe he affected more the quiet of the Church, then the advancement of his kindred, he perſiſted not in his enterpriſe, but juſt as long as was neceſſary to make his Kindred believe he had once well reſolved it; and thus the *Urſins*, who aſpired to ſo much Grandeur, remained diſappointed, and the *Pope* was pleaſed in the demonſtration he had given them of his kindneſs.

The *Popes* were not yet perfect in the art of raiſing their kindred; the carnal love of their Relations did but begin a combat with the ſpiritual zeal for the Church, and as yet the laſt was too hard for the firſt, and in all occaſions did carry it before their kindneſs for their Relations.

From *Nicolas* to *Sixtus* the Fourth, who was created in the year 1471, the *Popes* did by little and little humaniſe themſelves, and lay aſide that rude ſeverity to themſelves, and to their kindred, who now began to come very willingly to *Rome*, being ſure to meet with kinder receptions then heretofore had been ſhewed to precedent *Popes* Relations; and when once they were in *Rome* and in ſight of their Uncle, he to prevent them from leading an idle life, would give them entrance into the Vatican, and honour them with places of Honour and Profit.

Withall this things were carried ſo cloſely, that though the Church did receive ſome detri-

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Withall this things were carried ſo cloſely, that though the Church did receive ſome detriment,

ment, yet the people of *Rome*, and the other Christian Nations had no great occasion of scandal given them neither from the Nephews, nor from the Popes. The first of which were well pleased with any thing that was given them; and the last, that is, the *Popes*, were so provident as to be liberal only of what was superfluous, and not of that which the Church and *Rome* could not spare.

But in the time of *Sixtus*, Ambition and Covetousness introduced themselves so openly, with the utter destruction of the modesty and decorum of the Church, together with the subversion of Christian Piety, occasioned all by his filling the *Vatican* with such a company of Nephewes, that from that time forward we must reckon the birth and growth of the *Nipotismo*; in the History of which, before we engage any further, it will not be amiss to give a Character of the Court of *Rome*, which now at present is maintained by, and depends entirely upon the *Nipotismo*.

One of the greatest extravagancies that I meet withall in the World, is the error of those who are perpetually exclaiming against Courts; and generally 'tis observed, that few of those that are of this Humour, have been Courtiers, or if they have, yet have they not made any considerable stay in them. But for Gods sake, what kind of thing was the World, before there were any Courts? nothing but the refuge of baseness, the quintessence of ignorance, an apparent blindness, and in a word, a barbarous throne of Vices, and all sorts of ill actions.

Many complain of the Court, but few of themselves, for not having been able to maintain the ground,

ground, and keep the place they had once in it; as if the Court were bound to deſcend to a compliance with every particular mans humour, and not particular men rather frame themſelves to a condeſcendency for the Court.

Who is it that frames and conſtitutes a Court? 'tis the Prince, without whom there is no ſuch thing. But who brings Vices to the Court? The Courtiers; and yet though the Courtiers be bad, and the *Prince* good, all the fault is laid upon the *Prince*.

Princes ſeldome fayle to recompenſe thoſe ſervices which they receive from their Courtiers, and without this quality they would not long be *Princes*. 'Tis true, that ſome are more reſerv'd, others more liberal in their rewards; but ſtill the defect is not in the *Prince*, but in the courtier, whoſe ambition is not to be ruled by his *Princes* judgment, and againſt whom he exclaimes for not contenting him.

To the ambition or deſire of honour is alwayes added an avidity or deſire of riches in Courtiers: theſe two monſters being the natural production of Courts.

The Court is to the World, as a furnace to Gold, to purifie, and refine mens wits. Whenſoever any bodies ingenuity is under a cloud, and not known, let him come to Court, for there without doubt he will be preſt to an exact trial of his skill; and let him uſe it all in hiding himſelf, and drawing as it were a vayle over his deſigns, yet he ſhall find the Court to be the true Touch-ſtone of mens actions, and he ſhall be known, for what he is really, and not for what he would ſeem to be.

This

This general diſcourſe is only, that we may deſcend with more light and inſtruction to particulars. All other Courts, are ſtreams, and rivers; but the Court of *Rome* is the head and ſource of them all; and as ordinarily we find out the head by following the ſtream, ſo I thought it fit to ſay ſomething in general of Courts, before I came to the deſcription of the Court of *Rome*. Among all Nations in the World, the *Italians* are the moſt famous for managing State Affairs, and being naturally inclined to be good Politicians. Neither do the Princes of the North deny this advantage to the Courts of our *Italian* Princes, who in the Government of their States, are maſters of ſo much conduct, and ſubtilty, that none but very excellent and experienced geniuſes can penetrate the depth of their Counſels.

But thoſe maximes and Court ſlights, which in *Italy* are ordinary, are as it were natural and inſeparable from the Church-men of the Court of *Rome*; which City, upon this ſcore, is become famous in all forreign Countries, not as a place that teaches, and inſtructs Church-men, but as one that is taught and perfected by them.

He that deſires to ſee politick ſtratagems, and all that ſubtilty can compaſs, let him not forſake *Rome*, where he ſhall ſoon learn how State Affairs ought to be managed.

I alwayes had a great opinion of the cunning and abilities of Church-men in matter of Government; but when once I came to *Rome*, and began to know by experience ſomething of their wayes, I muſt confeſs, that my imagination was far ſhort of the reality of what I had conceived.

It

It was no hard matter for *Rome*, both the old, and the new, to be mistress of the World, and give Lawes to Nations, since it hath alwayes been the School of true policies, as having even in its birth drained all the rest of the world of its cunning, and impoverished, it in slights to enrich its self.

For the space of fifteen Ages, the Churchmen have already demonstrated to the world their abilities, and subtilty; and that so much the more to the wonder of all, because their beginnings have been so different from the means they have us'd, shifting from one thing to another, and changing upon all occasions, as Seamen do their Sailes with the wind, so that they seem to be born entirely for their own profit.

In the first Ages of the Church, the Court of *Rome* thought it convenient to comply with the Courts of other Princes, and this slight had its effect, while the Emperours Tyrannised over *Rome*; but their Tyranny being destroyed, the Court of *Rome* chang'd its way, and desired a compliance from all other Courts to its self.

Yet this proceeding too, having by little and little, intricated, and perplex'd the Court, and Courtiers, they were fain to come back to their first complyance, and by all Arts appease the malecontents, and keep those that were affectionate from being alienated: but now the face of things is so changed, and the nature of transactions so perverted, that they which now command in the Court of *Rome* have invented new wayes how to carry themselves, and correspond with Princes, very intricate, and different from those that were us'd in past Ages. There-

Therefore there are very few who having reſided in this Court, do at laſt forſake it to return home, but they have a great deal of reaſon to complaine and be ill ſatisfied of its proceedings; not only becauſe they had not found ſo much favour as they had expected; but becauſe they found that they had been meerly deluded with faire promiſes, and at laſt, as it were laughed at for their paines. For the Courtiers of *Rome* have a particular maxime, either of perplexing, or of jeering thoſe that come to negotiate with them. The truth is, they have been ſo ſubtle in providing for their intereſt, and have brought things to that paſs, that they ſeem to be able to be without thoſe, who can by no means be without them; upon which ſcore the Miniſters of ſome Princes were wont to ſay; *That Negotiations in the Court of Rome were a miſcheif to thoſe that were employed in them, but a very neceſſary one*: And in a word; The Court of *Rome* cannot be better compared, then to a Labyrinth, out of which, many think they are going, when they do but juſt enter it.

Many have compared it to the Monky, that hugs its young ones to death; for juſt ſo do the Churchmen, who embrace every one with a paternal affection; but in thoſe embraces, they that receive them, find their ruin. Therefore have a Care of *Romes* kindneſs. Others do compare it to a Tree laden with fruit, that to look upon, ſeems ripe and fair, which when you come to taſte, you find ſoure and crabbed.

For my part, I think the Court of *Rome* is like thoſe pills that Phyſitians give to their patients, which

which are all gold without, that they may not displeaſe the ſick perſon by expoſing to his view Caſſia, or Antimony, &c. and he, poor man, truſting to this glorious exteriour ſwallowes the *Pill*, and in the ſwallowing of it often perceives the bitterneſs.

So *Rome*, or rather the Church-men in *Rome*, cover every thing with the gold of their inventions and ſlights, giving thus to Princes and Nations moſt bitter medicines covered with the zeal of Religion, which they have no ſooner ſwallowed, but they find that there was nothing but an appearance of good in it.

In the Court of *Rome* it often falls out, that he that makes as if he knew all mens intrigues is altogether ignorant, and he that feigns to know nothing, knowes all. The exterior ſhew of goodneſs runs like a ſtream in the ſight of all, but it ſprings from a head of miſcheif, which is ſeen by few, becauſe there they ſeldome give the ſting without the honey.

Nothing is done in *Rome* without the zeal of Religion; and yet the zeale of Religion is that which prevailes leaſt in all things. For they make a great diſtinction between thoſe things that they deſire, and thoſe that they ought to do. They employ all their reſolution and their prudence towards the compaſſing of the firſt, but they ſeldome performe the laſt, as not being inclin'd to make their wills ſtoop to their duty.

Theſe maximes, or the like, are common in all the Princes Courts, both within and without *Italy*; but *Rome* is the Seminary of theſe Arts, in which the Church-men are maſters.

He that goes to negotiate in *Rome* as a publick Minister from some Prince or State, must first have made some stay in it as a private person; and for my part, I am perswaded, that to have good success in such an employment, one stands in need of that double spirit which *Eliseus* asked *Elias* for; since that Church-men are so double-souled, as to use nothing but slights and subtilties in their negotiations.

He that can live four or five years in the Court of *Rome*, without meeting with such impediments as shall make him stumble and go neer to fall, may live a whole Age in any other Princes Court without trouble.

We see every day by experience, that many excellent Politicians, Ministers of Princes, and States, who in other Courts had got a great deal of credit and reputation, by managing business to their Princes content, are no sooner come to *Rome*, but in an instant they lose all that honour that they had taken so much pains for. And indeed many are they that come to the Court of *Rome* with a great deal of credit, but few come off and leave it with honour and reputation.

In a Climate subject to so many sudden changes, they that live in it must expect thunder and lightning, as well as fair weather. There negotiations must needs be hard, where the face of things is changed every day.

Many publick Ministers lose themselves in *Rome*, because they know well where they are, but not with whom they are: for whilst they think they have to do with a Monarchy, of a sudden they meet with a Republick and a Senate;

Senate; and when they imagine to be engaged with a commonwealth and a Senate, they find they have to do with a Monarchy: so that like a ball they are tossed from the Monarch to the Senate, and back again: Because indeed, the government of *Rome* is a Monarchy without a Head, and a Commonwealth without Counsellors. And thus even they that reside long in *Rome* are often puzzled in such sudden changes.

The Government of the Popes is much different from that of all other Princes; because that they that are raised to this eminent degree do often come to it, so raw and ignorant of Policies, that they are a great while before they can attain to any perfection in their charge, which when they have done at others expences, it is time for them to leave the world and their government to their Successours, who most commonly are of the same past fortune, introducing Church-men to this so high a command, and nature hurrying them away from the throne before they are fit for it.

I do not wonder, that in the Court of *Rome*, through a long experience, even the dullest and rawest Politicians do become at last most expert; since that from all the parts of the World, *Rome* receives none but the wisest and most able Statesmen to negotiate with her.

One of my friends compares this Court to the Sea; for as it receives in its bosome all the Rivers of the Earth, and being by them filled and swelled, fills them again from whom it received its plenty. So *Rome* doth as it were suck from the rest of the World, their purest milk of policies, and distributes it again, like a kind mother, to all those

that are content with the appellation of its children.

Indeed as for the ſucking part, I think my friend is much in the right; for Church-mens lips are ſo fit for this function, that they loſe not one drop; but as for the diſtributive part, they make it a more difficult thing then he or others would imagine.

Neither do I wonder at it, for when they deal with others, they alwayes propoſe to them the zeal of Religion, and the intereſt of Chriſtian Piety: While under the pretext of theſe, they hide their ſelf-policy, to uſe it in time and place convenient: Which no body can diſcover but themſelves. The truth is, that a good Politician may receive ſome benefit, by diving into that which they ſo much endeavour to hide; but he ſhall never be advantaged by any thing that they ſhall willingly reveal to him, their undoubted maxime being never to diſcover any thing but ſuch as they need not, or that cannot be beneficial to others.

To give a great proof of what I ſay, I remember, that an Embaſſidour of an *Italian* Prince, a wiſe and able man, being returned home after ſeven years ſtay in his imployment at *Rome*, could give to his maſter for all account of his Embaſſy, nothing but ambiguous words, equivocal enigmes, and uncertain anſwers; whereupon his Prince not underſtanding him, required a better information at his hands, and was thus anſwered by him.

Sereniſſime Prince: *The School of* Rome *hath furniſhed me with no other Lectures, then what I have*

have already layed open to your Highneſs: Therefore with all due ſubmiſſion, I beſeech your Highneſs to have compaſſion of me, if I appear before you ſo barren and ſo empty; for in ſeven years time I have not been able to obtain from theſe Church-men any ſolid ſubſtance, to fill my ſelf withal. This 'tis that befalls moſt Ambaſſadors and Agents in *Rome*.

Innocentius the Tenth had brought the Court into ſuch a confuſion; that in his time no body knew where to begin any buſineſs: For he did ſo little care to trouble himſelf with the important affairs of Chriſtendome; that moſt commonly he refuſed to meddle, even in thoſe which concerned his paſtoral function. His troubleſome houres were when he was forced to give audience to a forrain Embaſſadour, and to be rid of buſineſs; his maximes were, To deny all favours, to anſwer all requeſts with a negative, and never to come to a final reſolution in any thing that might pleaſe his enemies; though the thing in its ſelf was very beneficial to the Church and State. If he had any inclination to do good, it appeared only in what he did to his own family, and in the care he took to embelliſh the City of *Rome*. But the ill he did was not contained in ſuch eaſie limits, it ſpread its ſelf over all Chriſtendome, which did lament to ſee the Church provided of ſo extravagant a Paſtor.

In the beginning of his pontificat, he ſhewed himſelf much enclined to be well informed of the ſtate of *Rome*, and the Church Territories; which vigilance of his, at laſt redounded ro the prejudice of all his officers. For they thinking,

at firſt, that his proceeding came from the love of juſtice, and good order, came all to *Rome* with inſtructions and memorials, wherein their wants and the neceſſities of their places were ſet out: but all in vain; for when they expected anſwer and ſatisfaction, they found that the intention of the Pope was, to refuſe all, and to reſolve nothing; ſo that then every one avoided, not only the preſence of the Pope, but *Rome* it ſelf, and all buſineſs in it.

This is the general diſpoſition of the Court of *Rome*, and of Church-men in common; though the Popes *Nephews* do often give it another face, according as their deſigns and thoughts are, which being as different as the humours of one Pope from another; fortune, not merit, raiſing both Popes and Nephews to this great command; we may ſay, that things in *Rome* are rather performed by masked and counterfit perſons, then by natural ones: As one of my friends, who lives well, and is one of the beſt Church-men in the Court of *Rome*, is uſed to ſay, that when once he had put on the habit of a Prieſt, he could hardly diſcern his own nature, nor know himſelf with compariſon to what he was before. Which ſhewes evidently, that Church-men have certain cloſe wayes of treating, particular to themſelves, that muſt make thoſe that have to do with them, ſtand upon their guard, and uſe all their policy.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES NEPHEWS.

The Firſt Part.

The SEGOND BOOK.

The Contents.

IN *which is diſcourſed, of the firſt bringing the* Nipotiſmo *into* Rome, *which happened under* Sixtus *the fourth, too much inclined to favour his kindred. Of the laſcivious life, and of the death of Cardinal* Peter *his Nephew. Of the government of the Church transferred to* Jerom, Peter's *brother. Of the number of* Sixtus *his Nephews. Of the ſelling of many Jewels. Of the murmurs of the* Romans *againſt this Pope. Of the ſucceſſion of* Innocent *the eighth to the Popedome. How he was naturaly averſe from his kindred.*

What he did for ſome of his Nephews. Of the aſſumption of Alexander *the ſixth to the Popedome. How he made his Baſtards great. Of the crimes committed by him. Of the family of the* Sforzas, *being from* Milan. *Of the actions of Duke* Valentine. *How the Pope paſſed his time. Of his death, cauſed by poyſon. How How Duke* Valentine *carried himſelf after the death of his Father Pope* Alexander. *Of the ſucceſſion of* Pius *the third to the Popedome, and of his ſhort life. Of what happened to his kindred. Of* Julius *the ſecond that ſucceeded* Pius. *Of his way of carrying himſelf towards his Nephews. Of the Popedome fallen to* Leo *the tenth. Of his mind entirely bent to favour the Family of the* Medici. *How* Adrian *the ſixth ſucceeded to* Leo *the tenth. Of the ſeverity he ſhewed to his kindred. Of the election of* Clement *the ſeventh for Pope. Of his great ambition to raiſe his Family. How* Paul *the third was choſen Pope. How he likewiſe was inclined to make his kindred great, and by what means. Of that which* Julius *the third did in favour of his Family: and how his life was inclined to pleaſures and delight. Of the reſolution of* Marcellus *the ſecond, to give nothing to his kindred. How* Paul *the fourth was made Pope. Of his kindneſs to his kindred. How* Pius *the fifth was not naturally inclined to do his kindred good. How* Gregory *the thirteenth was of a quite contrary diſpoſition. How* Sixtus *the fifth was made Pope, and how he was inclined to favour his kindred. Of the ſhort life of* Urban *the ſeventh,* Sixtus *his ſucceſſour. Of the election of* Gregory *the fourteenth.*

fourteenth. What was his inclination to his Nephews. Of the election of Innocent *the ninth. Of his proceedings and death. Of the election of* Clement *the eighth: and of what he did for his kindred. Of the desire of* Leo *the eleventh, succeſſour to* Clement, *to make his family great. Of the election of* Paul *the fifth. Of his life and actions, and how he advanced his kindred. How* Gregory *the fifteenth ſucceeded to* Paul *the fifth, and of his great affection to his kindred.*

NOw we muſt look back, and return to *Sixtus* the 4th, who firſt opened a door to the *Nipotiſmo*, and who by introducing his kindred, brought at the ſame time ambition and riches into *Rome*; the riches were for his Nephews, and the ambition he left as an inheritance to all Church-men; and it is now one of the greateſt miſchiefs that oppreſſeth the Church.

'Tis not to be wondred at, that I begin the Hiſtory of the *Nipotiſmo*, from the time of *Sixtus* the fourth, ſince he was the firſt that delivered up *Rome* and the Popedom in prey to his Nephews, to the wonder and aſtonithment of the whole world.

He was then the firſt introducer of the *Nipotiſmo*, and ſo indulgent a one, that to favour his kindreds intereſt, he had forgot himſelf, and the Church, thinking of nothing, but of the means how to advance them to their ſatisfaction; from whence the murmurs of the people were ſo great in *Rome*, that many Confeſſors were fain to give

over

over their Function, that they might not hear the peoples complaints againſt the *Pope* and his kindred: So that it was ſpread through *Europe*, that *Rome* had as many *Popes* as *Sixtus* had Nephews.

This Pope, immediately after his election, made two Cardinals; *viz. Peter Riario*, whom many ſuſpected to be his Baſtard, having alwayes been educated, with great care by him, in the ſame Monaſtery; the other was *Julian*, ſon of *Raphad de la Rovere*, brother to the *Pope*, and had been firſt Biſhop of *Carpentras*, then was made Cardinal by his Brother, and at laſt came to be *Pope*, under the name of *Julius* the ſecond, as we ſhall relate in due place.

Sixtus gave to the Cardinal, *Peter Riario*, all that was in his power to give, adding Abby upon Abby, and revenue upon revenue, till he had made him ſo rich in Church lands, that he lived moſt ſplendidly, and ſeemed to be born to waſte a greater fortune; Plays, Balls, Dances, and ſuch paſtimes, were the ornament which he beſtowed upon his Eccleſiaſtical dignity, being perſwaded, that pomp and vanity were becoming the majeſty of a Cardinal.

He lived but two years in this looſe life; in which time 'tis thought he ſpent, in Treats, and Balls, and ſuch like diverſions, above two hundred thouſand Duckats of gold, beſides ſeventy thouſand which he owed at his death, and which were never payed: He dyed at the age of 28. years, to the great regret of his Uncle, his diſeaſe having been cauſed by his debauchery, as the *Phyſitians* reſt fied.

Six

Six months before he dyed, the Pope, whose continual study it was, how to make him great, declared and proclaim'd him his Legat over all *Italy*; not that any urgent business did require such a Function, but only that he might give him an occasion of shewing his Grandeur, and receiving more pleasure in those triumphs and receptions, he was upon this score to have bestowed upon him by the *Italian* Princes; who to humour the Pope, forgot no honour they could think of, towards the person of his Legat; and could not indeed have done more to the Pope himself; particularly in *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Padua*, he was received with so extraordinary a pomp, that it was almost incredible.

Great was the delight which he took in these publick honours; but much greater were the pleasures, which he tasted in secret, having ordinarily, amongst his Attendants, five or six Russians, whose business it was to satisfie his appetite, though never so inordinate. Being at last come back to *Rome*, to the possession of his old Mistresses, he ended his dayes amongst them, and went to a new world, whether of pleasure or of pain, God knows.

But the Popes affection to his kindred was not buryed in his grave; for he made his Brother *Jerome* succeed in his favour and fortune, which he rather increased then diminished; for he made him Lord and Soveraign of *Imola* and *Forli*; and gave him the government of all the State of the Church, besides other important Offices.

This *Jerome* was a quite contrary disposition to

to his Brother; being naturally severe in words and deeds, and averse from all pleasures but hunting. He married *Catharina*, natural daughter to *Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*; and *Sixtus* made *Ascanius*, the son of the said Duke, Cardinal into the bargain, contrary to the young mans inclination, which was rather to marriage, then to a single life.

But the inordinate passion of this Pope did not rest in all this; for his ambition of having kindred to advance was such, that not being content with that great number of true Nephews that he had, he substituted and adopted some, that were no relation to him at all; to whom he gave an infinity of places and commands.

He gave to *Leonard*, his brothers son, a natural daughter of King *Ferdinand* in marriage, and made him Prefect of *Rome*: And he being dead, he immediately transferred that honour and place to another Nephew, called *John de la Rovere*, brother to the Cardinal *Julian*; giving him besides, the Propriety of the States of *Sora* and *Sinigaglia*.

This *John* had by *Giovanna*, daughter to *Frederick*, Duke of *Urbin*, a son, who was *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, who after the death of *Gnido Ubaldo*, his Uncle, who dyed without male issue, succeeded by adoption, and in the right of his Wife, to the Dukedom of *Urbin*.

Besides these, *Sixtus* made Cardinals the two brothers, *Christopher*, and *Dominic*, *de la Rovere*, who lived in *Turin*, under the protection of the Duke of *Savoy*, though they were Soveraigns of *Vico Nuovo*, and other Estates in *Italy*.

Besides,

Besides, he made *Jerome Batto*, his sisters Son, Cardinal; as likewise *Raphael Samson*, son to a sister of *Pietro Riario*, whom he promoted to that Dignity, when he was but seventeen years old, upon condition, that he should change his name, and take that of the Popes Family.

This Pope had so much kindred, and was so inclined to advance them, that he often granted the same thing to two different persons, having forgot that he had granted it to the first.

But amongst all his inventions to enrich them, this was one of the best: In the beginning of his Pontificat, he made, as if he had a design to pay the debts, left upon the Church by the precedent Popes, *Eugenius*, *Nicolas*, *Calistus*, *Pius*, and *Paul*; but pretending want of money to do it, he compassed his design by this means.

Paul the second, his predecessour, had alwayes had a great inclination for the publick pomp and state of the Popedom, and therefore strove to make the Ornaments of the Popes person and head the richest that was possible for him; to which end, in the Miter, which serves at their Coronation, and other publick ceremonies, he had caused above the worth of a million in precious Stones to be set, having bought up (all the world over) the best Diamonds, Saphires, Rubyes, Emeraulds, Chrysolites, *&c.* that could be had for money; so that afterwards, when he came out in publick, he looked like another *Aaron*, with a Majesty more divine then humane, being himself very tall, and of a comely port and presence.

Sixtus, who having been brought up in the severity

ſeverity of a Monaſtick life, did little eſteem that outward pomp, which *Paul*, his predeceſſour, ſo much prized, cauſed theſe precious Stones to be ſold, under pretence of diſcharging ſuch debts, as the Church was lyable to for his predeceſſours.

The Jewels were ſoon ſold, and the money conſigned into the hands of his Nephews; but the debts were never payed, though the Jewels had been ſold to that end: And that which is worth relating is, that the Pope anſwered every one, that came to demand any thing due to them; that he had already payed the others, that he was ſorry it was not their fortune to come ſooner, and that the money had proved ſhort to diſcharge ſo many debts: So that the poor Creditors were fain to go away cheated, and yet knew not whom to complain of.

The *Romans* murmured ſtrangely, againſt this greedineſs of the Pope and his kindred, and ſo much the more, becauſe that they had not yet been accuſtomed to ſee a Popes paſſion for his kindred make him rob and plunder the Church. They wondred what example *Sixtus* could have for his proceedings, for none of his predeceſſours had hitherto ſhewed ſo little moderation, but in providing for their kindred, had kept ſome meaſures. Neither could his education furniſh him with this ambition and covetouſneſs; for he had been brought up in a Convent, amongſt Religious perſons, who profeſſed voluntary poverty, and to whoſe principles he ſeemed to be ſo inured, as not to be able to forſake them: For all the while he managed publick buſineſs, before he was a Cardinal,

dinal, it was with a great deal of candour and diſintereſsment that he did it; and when he came to be made Cardinal, he was ſo far from keeping a Court, and living in that ſplendour, which others thought became that dignity, that his Family and Retinue looked rather like a Convent, then like a train of Attendants. But as ſoon as he was Pope, he changed of a ſudden, and lived like a Prince, never troubling himſelf at what the world ſaid of him, but cared only to pleaſe himſelf, and make his kindred great.

Sixtus being dead, *Innocentius* the eighth was made Pope, in the year 1484. being of the noble Family of *Cibo*, which hath had many eminent perſons in it. This Pope, remembring the complaints of the *Romans* againſt his predeceſſour, for being too indulgent to his kindred, reſolved to be very cautious in that point, and give no occaſion of ſcandal that way: Which he obſerved ſo well, that when any one of his kindred came to *Rome*, and that he had notice of it, he would ſay, *Our kindred had much better ſtay in* Geneva *without us, then come to* Rome *for our ſakes*; and indeed he was very reſerved to them: For to *Mauritius Cibo*, who was a very accompliſh'd Gentleman, he gave nothing, but the Government of the Dutchy *Spoleto*, and made him Preſident of the State of the Church Employments, which in thoſe dayes were not of any great honour or profit, though now they are both rich and honourable.

So he made *Lawrens Cibo*, his Nephew, Cardinal: but with very little authority, forbidding him

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to meddle with publick busines of importance, without being called to it. And yet was he forced, as it were, to honour him thus far; for many whispering about the Court, that he was a Bastard, he was fain to shew the world, that he did own him, as being lawfully born of one of his Cozens; which he proved by a process and strict examination before Cardinal *Balbo*, a *Venetian*, and one, who had no wayes interest to favour the Family of *Cibo*.

The greatest advantage that this Pope procured his Family, was, that he married *Francesco Cibo* with *Magdalen* of *Medicis*, sister of *Leo* the tenth that was afterwards, giving him the County of *Anguillara*, which was not of any importance in those dayes, and making him Captain General of the Forces of the Church: And in this he ended all the favours that he ever shewed his Family, which was very noble besides.

Alexander the sixth succeeded *Innocentius* in the Popedom, who was a barbarous, lascivious Pope, making no difficulty of bringing desolation upon the Church, and imbrewing his hands in innocent bloud, to advance and make great his kindred. In the reign of this Pope, the *Romans* used to say, *That the Emperours had taught tyranny, and the Popes practised it.*

He was cruel, covetous, and insatiable, in heaping riches together: He spent his retired hours all in lascivious pleasures, taking great delight to be embraced and caress'd by fair Ladies; whence the numbers of his Bastards was very great; many taking from thence occasion to say, *That he*

had

had filled Rome *with Baſtards, and* Spain *with Whores.* 'Tis true, that he declared for his Heirs only, four male children, and two female: And though he uſed to change Ladies often, for variety and greater pleaſure, yet he gave himſelf up to *Vanoccia*, a Roman Curtizan, whom he loved as his lawful Wife, and with whom he would ſport and toy in publick, keeping her at his table, and in his houſe, as if ſhe had been his true Wife, and this while he was Archbiſhop and Cardinal.

Being made Pope, in the year 1492. the ſecond of *Auguſt*, he introduced into *Rome*, not a *Nipotiſmo*, but rather a *Filioliſmo*, nay indeed, a *Baſtardiſmo*, that is, a company of Baſtards, whom he brought with him, in his return from his Legation in *Spain*: And his firſt way to make him great was, by force of Arms, making league with this Prince, then with that, then with another, but ſtill upon theſe conditions, to give Principalities, which he nam'd, to his baſtard ſons.

For this end, he joyned in a Confederacy, which proved fatal to all *Italy*, with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, with the Catholick King, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*; the Conditions of which League were, that they ſhould diſpoſſeſs the true and ancient Owners of the Provinces of *La Romagna*, *La Marca*, and *Umbria*; and that the whole ſhould be made over to *Ceſar Borgia*, the Popes ſon; who to this end had laid aſide his Cardinals Cap, and taken in marriage *Charlotte* of *Albret*, daughter to the King of *Navarre*, and allyed to the French King, and divers other great Princes.

But this design having taken no effect, because of the dispute, that rise between the *French* and the *Spaniard*, about the dividing of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which at last ended in the utter ruine of the *French*, the *Spaniards* remaining Masters of the whole Kingdom; the Pope thought it was easier for him to compass his ends, and establish the Grandeur of his Bastards by great and powerful Alliances.

From hence proceeded, that having promised his daughter *Lucretia*, while he was Cardinal, to a certain *Spaniard*; as soon as he was Pope, he took her away from him, and bestow'd her in marriage upon *John Sforza*, Lord of *Pesaro*, with whom being also fallen out, he took her away from him, and bestowed her upon *Lewis* of *Arragon*, natural son to King *Alfonse*; joyning thus two bastards, that they might not reproach one another: And he likewise dying some months after his marriage, he gave her to *Alfonse d'Este*, Duke of *Ferrare*, with whom she lived and dyed. 'Twas in the pomp of her Wedding, that the Pope caused to be celebrated in *Rome*, Turnaments and Tiltings, together with the representation of a hunting Match; and many say, that in the Ball and Dances the Pope danced every night, masked, with some of his intimate Friends.

Of his sons, he made *Godfrey*, the youngest Prince of *Squillace*, a City in *Ulterior Calabria*, and the Country of Saint *Cassiodorus*: He made *Cesar*, who was the second, Cardinal; and his eldest, named *John*, was by the great entreaties and instances of the Pope, made Duke of *Candia*

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in *Spain*, much againſt the inclination of the Catholick King; for this *John* he procured in marriage a baſtard daughter of *Alfonſe*, King of *Naples*; and thus he filled the *Vatican* with baſtards, whereupon *Paſquin*, with a great deal of reaſon, call'd it, *Il Baſtardiſmo*.

Ceſar, his ſecond ſon, being troubled to ſee his brother *John* above him, and more beloved by his Father, reſolved to take him out of the way; ſo one night, as *John* was going in *Rome* about ſome buſineſs, he cauſed him to be ſet upon by ſome of his Confidents, who having ſtabb'd him, caſt him half alive headlong into the *Tyber*; and the ſame evening (a barbarous action) they had ſupped together, very brotherly, at their *Mother Vanoccias* houſe.

The Pope, who was afraid of incurring the ſame danger from his ſon, whoſe temper he knew to be wicked enough for ſuch an undertaking, was forced to diſſemble this inhumane action of the Cardinal, and to make no purſuits nor informations about the death of his eldeſt ſon.

Ceſar, being thus delivered of his brother, began to give himſelf up to the life of a Souldier, and the practiſe of Arms, without any conſideration of his being a Cardinal: for his great motive in murdering his brother was, that he might attain to the dignity of *Gonfalonier*, or Standard-bearer of the Church, and Captain General of the Popes Armies; ſo that a little after his Fratricide, he layed off his Cardinals Habit, and the Pope inveſted him with all the honours of his dead brother.

Thus being made General of the Popes Army,

he united with the *French*, and married *Charlotte* of *Albret*, and had for her portion the Dutchy of *Valenza*, from whence he was called over, after Duke *Valentine*, as being a particular acquisition of his own.

With the help of *Lewis* the twelfth, and of his Father the Pope, he gained a great estate in *Italy*; his Father being still ready to supply him with vast sums of money, which he spent to purchase greatness.

Having driven the Family of the *Sforza's* out of *Milan*, and put them in prison; by the help of the *French* King, he made himself Master, with great cruelty, of all the Cities of *La Romagna*, except *Bologna*, banishing and murdering the ancient and true Lords and Masters of them.

The first seized upon *Forli* and *Imola*, causing the poor young *Riarri*, who were Lords of those places, to fly for safety; and taking prisoner their Mother *Catharine*, whom he carried in triumph to *Rome*; exposing to the eyes of the *Romans* his barbarous cruelties.

From *Forli* he passed to *Faenza*, which City he took by force, putting to death *Astorre Manfredi*, who was Lord of it.

He did the same by *Arimino* and *Pesaro*, forcing *Nulatesta*, and *John Sforza*, to avoid by flight, the infamy and cruelty of the death they were sure to undergo, if they fell into his hands.

After this, he besieged *Sinigaglia*, and took it by force, committing infinite acts of inhumanity in it.

With the same course of Victory, though with craft

craft and deceit mingled with force, he deprived *Guido Ubaldo di Feltro* of his Dutchy of *Urbin*, making him fly to *Mantua*, not without danger of falling into his net by the way.

After this, he lead his Army againſt the City of *Camerino*, which he took by force, and put to a cruel death *Giulio Ceſare*, and *Venantio Varrani*, who were, and had been, long in poſſeſſion of it. And with the ſame ardour and ambition, he fell to perſecuting all the neighbouring Princes, in hopes to deprive them of their States.

At laſt, he turned his rage upon the chiefeſt Families of *Rome*, beginning with the noble Family of the *Gaetani*, who were in poſſeſſion of great Eſtates in the Country of the *Volai*, putting to death *Honorato* and *Cola Gaetani*.

Next, he fell upon the *Colonna's* Family, and having diſpoſſeſſed them of their Lands, forced them to fly to *Apulia*, and *Sicily*, where they were extremely pitied by that people, who had a perfect knowledge of their rare deſerts.

But while he thought to do the ſame to the *Urſins*, they having leagued themſelves with other Princes, raiſed an Army in their defence; and having at laſt encountred his, defeated it, and forced him to fly to *Imola*, or, as ſome ſay, to *Rome*, where the Pope, being frightned with this ſudden blow, had recourſe to craft and diſſimulation; he treats with the Confederates; gives them ſuch Conditions, that they themſelves, even triumphant, could hardly expect: And having thus lull'd them aſleep, and made them lay down Armes; in the mean while, *Borgia* having recovered himſelf, and got a new Army, fell upon

them most cruelly; and persecuting them separately, put to death some, banish'd others; and in a word, used all barbarous means to compass their ruine.

All this while the *Pope* was taking his delight in the *Vatican*, in *Vanoccia's* armes; receiving every day, with new joy and satisfaction, the news of his Sons crimes.

The Revenue of the Church being not sufficient to maintain such an Army as *Cesar Borgia's* was, and withall, to supply the expence of his Court, which was truly Royal and *Prince*-like; *Alexander* made a new Colledge of fourscore Writers of Briefs, selling every place for two hundred and fifty Crowns of Gold; receiving besides into *Rome* those *Moors*, that the King of *Spain* had driven out of his Dominions, who to enjoy their liberty, gave him great sums of money: And yet all this seeming inconsiderable, he sold divers Cardinals Caps; and at last, for fear of being unprovided of money in some urgent necessity, he resolved to dispatch with poyson, the richest Prelates of the Court, and amongst them some very rich Cardinals, whose Estates he intended to make himself heir to, and so satiate the barbarous greedinesse of his son.

But Divine *Providence*, taking compassion of the innocency of so many persons, disappointed this barbarous design most miraculously; for just in the execution of it, the *Pope* himself was, by the mistake of his Cup-bearer, sent out of the world, and his son *Cesar* in extreme danger: And thus it happened.

Alexander invited to a Treat, in his Garden of

of *Belocdere*, all the richeſt Cardinals and Prelates, under pretence of honouring them; and had ſecretly given order to mingle ſome poyſon with moſt exquiſite Wines that they were to drink. But the Cup-bearer, in pouring out his Wine into Glaſſes, miſtook, and poyſoned the Pope and his Son *Ceſar*. 'Tis true, that ſome do believe, that the Cup-bearer did it on purpoſe, being glad to be the Inſtrument, that ſhould deliver the State and Church from ſo much miſery, in which they were involved under this Popes tyranny.

Ceſar perceiving himſelf to be poyſoned, preſently had recourſe to Remedies, and with vomiting, being ſtrong, and in the flower of his age, freed himſelf from the poyſon, though very violent: 'Tis true, that he remained impotent, and unfit for action, ſo that his Army immediately crumbled away, for want of his perſonal aſſiſtance to keep them together.

But the Pope, who was already ſeventy two years old, was not able to reſiſt the ſtrength of the poyſon, though all the Remedies imaginable, were put in uſe to ſave him. So he dyed in the *Vatican*, in the year one thouſand five hundred and three.

As ſoon as the Pope was dead, *Ceſar*, his ſon, cauſed himſelf, and all the Popes Treaſure, to be tranſported to the *Vatican*, under the guard of twelve thouſand Souldiers, with an intention, to force the Cardinals to make a Pope of his liking: But he failed in his deſign; for the Cardinals met in the Convent of *La Minerva*: And *Ceſar* having ſet *Michrel'etto Correglia*, his great Captain,

to besiege them, the people of *Rome*, moved with indignation against such a violence offered to the Cardinals, rose in Armes for their defence; whereupon *Borgia* resolved to retire to *Nepe* with his Army, and leave the Cardinals their liberty: Who being free, and having celebrated the Popes Obsequies, went into the Conclave to choose his Successor; and after some dispute, agreed in the Person of Cardinal *Picolomini*, one of the eminentest Prelates of the Court, who took the name of *Pius* the third.

The news of this Election being come to *Siena*, which was the Popes native Country, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who was Tyrant of this City, was extremely troubled at it, doubting not, but that the Pope would soon drive him away, and set his Country at liberty; so that to be rid of his fear, he procur'd a Chirurgion to poyson a Sore that the Pope had in one of his Legs; which was done, and the poor Pope dyed, some seven and twenty dayes after his creation.

The *Picolomini* Nephews and Relations to his Holiness, were already flown to *Rome*, like so many Bees, but before they could get within the gates, they receiv'd the sad news of their Uncles death; so that they were fain to return to *Siena* upon the same Horses, upon which they came to *Rome*. 'Twas certainly believed, that this Pope would have made another *Nipotismo* in *Rome*, for he was very tender hearted and kind to his kindred.

To *Pius* succeeded *Jules*, the second brother to *Sixtus* the fourth, who was chosen with so publick

a conſent and applauſe, that he was almoſt proclaim'd *Pope* before he went into the Conclave; the people receiv'd the news of his Election, with extraordinary demonſtration of joy, becauſe of the great eſteem they had for his perſon, *Alexander* having kept him in baniſhment from *Rome*, for the ſpace of ten years together, to the diſpleaſure of the whole Court of *Rome*.

Jules proved a man of a great Soul, and a noble and conſtant Defender of the Church, and little inclin'd to make his kindred great. 'Tis true, he did own a great deal of kindneſs for his Relations, but much more for the Church: And did ſay, *That he would have beſtowed upon them all that he had, if all that he had were not the Churches.* Therefore he would never give them any State belonging to the Church; and if *Franceſco Maria*, his brothers ſon, did obtain the Dutchy of *Urbin*, it was, becauſe that *Guido Ubaldo da Feltra*, his Kinſman, did adopt him. Some ſay, that it was by the *Popes* perſwaſions, that *Guido Ubaldo* did this; which though it were true, yet it did not any wayes prejudice the Church: And if he did beſtow *Peſaro* on the ſame *Franceſco Maria*, which State was lately fallen to the Church by the death of *Gio. Sforza*, who dyed without Heirs, it was to pay to the ſaid *Franceſco Maria* certain debts, which he pretended due to him from the *Church*.

Beſides, he never gave any extraordinary Authority to four Cardinals of his own kindred and creating; who were very much diſpleaſed and diſcontented at this his ſeverity.

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He anſwered one day two of his Relations, who were very preſſing for an Office, which he would not grant; *You ought to be content with what my Brother did, who lov'd the houſe of* La Rovere *better then the Church.*

In his time *Rome* was almoſt without a *Nipotiſmo*: but no ſooner was *Leo* the tenth raiſed to this great honour, but things began to run in another ſtream; for this Pope, though otherwiſe very worthy of ſuch an Elevation, yet was he no ſooner ſettled in his Dignity, but he began to project the greatneſs and advancement of the houſe of the *Medicis*. And firſt he beſtowed upon *Julian*, his Brother, the Office of *Gonfaloniero*, or Standard-bearer to the Church, together with other charges and places: Then he called moſt of his kindred to *Rome*, making them Cardinals, and beſtowing Dignities upon them. So that the *Nipotiſmo* began to take a new poſſeſſion of *Rome* and the Church.

Leo undertook, by the means of the Emperour *Maximilian*, to make his brother *Julian* Lord of *Siena* and *Lucca*, pretending to add to his Domination the Dutchies of *Urbino* and *Ferrara*: But *Julian* dying in the interim, the Pope transferred his kindneſs upon his brother *Lawrens*, and attempted the execution of this his deſign in his favour, by the means of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was newly come to the Empire. Beſides, he put into his hands the government of the City of *Florence*, with this condition, that he ſhould undertake nothing, without the advice and conſent of the Citizens.

Then he enriched him with all the Honours and

and Offices his brother had enjoyed in the Church-State; and yet desirous every day to make him greater, and to satisfie the instant prayers of his Mother *Alfonsina*. He made war with *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbin*; and having sent an Army against him, under the command of *Renzo di Lere*, he took his Dutchy from him, and invested with the title of Duke of *Urbin Lawrens* his Nephew; the poor Duke and his Lady being constrained to fly to *Mantua* for refuge.

With the same intention, though not with the same success, he strove to pick a quarrel with *Alfonse*, Duke of *Ferrara*; but he being a Prince experienced in war, and under the protection of a strong City, easily defeated the Popes design and artifices.

Lawrens being dead, the Pope sent the Cardinal of *Medicis* to *Florence*, to govern that City; and in him first began to relent that great ardour, with which he had hitherto pursued the advancement of his Family, giving himself over to other Employments, much more necessary, and more becoming a Prelate, whose care was not only to be bounded within the walls of *Rome*, but over all *Christendome*.

Adrian the sixth was *Leo*'s Successour, he had been the Emperour *Charles* the fifth his Tutor, and was created Pope the year of our Lord 1529. being then in *Victoria*, a City of *Spain*: As soon as he received the news of his Election, he embarqued at *Terracona*, and came to *Genoa*; where having received the Complements of Ambassadours

dours of all parts, he came in great triumph to *Rome*.

This *Pope* was indeed too ſevere with his kindred; and under him, the Court of *Rome* paſs'd from one extremity to another: for his Predeceſſours gave all to their Nephews, and he refus'd to give them even that which they deſerved; and for this reaſon he was blam'd, not only by the Court, and forraign Ambaſſadours, but alſo by the common people, as being unnatural and clowniſh.

There was in *Siena* one of his Cozens ſons, maintained there in his ſtudies by the *Pope*; who being moved with the ambition of riſing under his Uncles *Pontificat*, came to *Rome* without order; but the *Pope* no ſooner had notice of it, but he commanded (without being prevail'd upon to ſee him) that he ſhould inſtantly be carried back again upon a hackney Horſe; giving order to his Confeſſor, to tutor him ſharply for being ſo bold; and bidding him remember to take from his Uncle, an example of modeſty and temperance, and apply himſelf ſtrongly to his ſtudy, and the practiſe of vertue, which would advance him without help of his kindred, or at leaſt very little.

Many others of his kindred, even his Nephews, came from *Germany* to *Rome*, with a deſign to enrich their fortunes, as other *Popes* Relations had done; but they ſoon found they had abus'd themſelves, for the *Pope*, angry at their journey, ſent them all back, with no other *Preſent*, then each of them a woollen Sute, and juſt as much money as would ſuffice to bear their charges.

charges. Nay, even to one, who out of neceſſity was come a foot, he refuſed to give any more then would juſt defray his expences on foot back again. 'Tis true, that ſome Cardinals were very Noble to them. This Pope was continually blaming the Prodigality of thoſe who had beſtowed ſuch great riches upon the Church. In the year that this Pope liv'd, *Rome* was ſo afflicted and viſited with Warre, Famine, and Plague, that it cannot be remembted without tears, and the people very unjuſtly laid all the fault upon the Pope, all mouths being open to clamour againſt him, and ſing the Latin Verſe:

Semper de Sextis diruta Roma fuit.

To *Adrian* ſucceeded Clement the Seventh of the Family of the *Medici*, who conſerving the wonted ambition of this Family encreaſed their revenues and power with all his induſtry, inſomuch that after he had been impriſon'd and extraordinarily ill us'd by the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, he nevertheleſs entred into a confederacy with him, upon condition that he ſhould give his baſtard Daughter *Margaret* in Marriage to *Alexander* of *Medici*, *Lawrens* his Son, and by force of Arms oblige the *Florentines* to acknowledge him for their Lawful Prince. All this was accordingly executed, the Emperor having ſent the Prince of *Orange* with a very great Army to ſettle the *Medici* in their new principality.

And *Clement* not content with this; as ſoon as the Emperour was gone into *Spain*, made a new league with *Francis* the Firſt of *France*, and

to

to ſtrengthen it, *Henry* the Second, the Dauphin of *France*, married *Catharina* of *Medicis* Daughter to *Laurens*; the wedding was kept at *Marſeillis*, where the King and the Pope were both preſent.

The Pope having thus happily ſetled his family, returned to *Rome*, and there died: In *September* 1534. and in the ſame year, in the Month of *October*, *Paul* the Third was choſen to fill his place, with great joy and applauſe of the people of *Rome*. He was *Alexander Farneſe* Cardinal, and one who ſhewed himſelf worthy of ſo eminent a dignity.

His firſt work was to find out means to advance his Family; and therefore in *December* following he created two of his Nephews Cardinals; one *Alexander Farneſe*, Son to *Pietro luigi Farneſe* his own Son, for the Pope had been married before he was Cardinal; and the other *Guido aſcanſo Forza Coſtanza* his daughters Son. *Alexander* being ſuddenly dead, the Cardinal *Hippolito Medici* was made Vice-Chancellour of the Church, and Vice-Chamberlain after the death of Cardinal *Spinola*. Thus from day to day, as places and offices became vacant, the Pope's Nephews were ſure to have them.

Paul was very deſirous to procure a meeting between the Emperour and the King of *France*, where he deſir'd to be preſent in perſon alſo; which thing being carried on by his Legat, Cardinal *Carpi* was well accepted and agreed of by both *Princes*; the Town of *Nizza* in *Provence*, but belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*: was choſen for the place of meeting, as being conveniently ſituated upon the Sea ſide. The

The Pope, though old, was the first that came to the place appointed, having endured very great inconveniencies in his journey; and yet he was disappointed at last of his desires; for these two Princes having penetrated into the Popes design, found that it was not out of any love to Christendome, but only out of a fond affection to his family that he had desir'd their company. So they refused to see one another in his presence, but came separatly, and kiss'd the Popes feet with no small mortification to his Holiness, being thus deluded and almost derided.

And indeed this interparly was not desired nor procur'd by the Pope, either with a design of appeasing the differences in Religion, or of making a League betwixt the Christian Princes against the Turk, though this were the pretext, but with a purpose to get *Margaret* of *Austria*, the widdow of *Alexander Medici*, for *Octavio Farneze* his Grandchild; and following the example of *Clement* the Seventh, give *Victoria*, afterwards married to *Guido Ubaldo* Duke of *Urbin*, his Neece, to some Prince of the blood of *France*, having chosen out the Duke of *Vendosme*, who was a young Prince of great merit and hopes: but for this time the Pope was forced to return to *Rome* without having effected his designs, as the King of *France* went to his own Kingdome, and the Emperour to *Marseilles*, where he visited the *French* King.

Some time after the Pope obtained from the Emperour the City of *Novarra* for his Son *Pietro Luigi*; and made up the match between his Grandchild *Octavio* and the Princess *Margaret* Daughter

Daughter to the Emperour, and widdow of *Alexander Medici*; this done, the Pope undertook the recovery of the City of *Lamerino*, which he pretended to be devoted to the Church by the death of *Giovani Maria Varrano*, who had receiv'd the investiture of that place from *Leo* the Tenth, and dyed without any male children, and upon this Title made warre against the young *Guido Ubaldo da Feltro*, who by the Womens side pretended a right to it, but not being able to maintain it, was fain to fly and leave the place to the Pope, who having taken it, presently gave the investiture to his Grand-child *Octavio Farneze*, making him Duke of *Camerino*, and Receivour General of the Church, having before made him Prefect of *Rome* in the place of the Duke of *Urbin*.

But this Popes ambition swell'd much higher, for he went about to buy the Dutchy of *Millan* of the Emperour with the Churches money, and make an unalienable Patrimony of the Family of the *Farnezes*. But the Emperour, though very necessitous and extreamly sollicited by the Pope with a vast summe of ready mony, was nevertheless so prudent as not to dismember from his Empire so considerable a part of it.

Besides this the Pope gave to his Son *Pietro Luigi*, against the consent of almost all the Cardinals, the noble Cities of *Parma* and *Placentia* in *Lombardy*, which were Fiefs of the Church. The said *Pietro Luigi* was murdered by the principal Citizens of *Placentia* in a conjuration layed and carried on by the Emperours order; who all along refused to confirm *Pietro Luigi* in this new Principality, the Pope pretending that the Empe-

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rour ſhould acknowledge him for lawful Lord and Maſter of theſe Cities; which he was ſo far from doing, that he endeavour'd to take them from him; whereupon the *Pope* was forced, that he might ſupport his Son, to ſide with the *French*, who failed not to ſettle his Grand-child *Octavio*, though with this condition that he ſhould renounce *Camerino*, and reſtore it to the Church, and be content with *Parma* and *Placentia*, for which he ſhould pay every year ſeven thouſand Crowns to the Apoſtolick Chamber.

Thus the Nipotiſmo was in great credit and Authority in *Pauls* time: for this *Pope* ſpared nothing to make them great, alienating the Churches Lands, and maintaining them in the poſſeſſion of their acquiſitions with the Churches Mony, which ſtirr'd the indignation of all Chriſtendome, and made the Hereticks, who by this time were multiplied like Graſhoppers, take from them an occaſion to deny the *Popes* authority and primac.

Julius the third, who ſucceeded *Paul*, preſerv'd his Nipotiſmo in a handſome condition and rank, but was not ſo furiouſly tranſported with Ambition to ſettle them in Dukedomes and *Principalities*. His humour was gay and merry, a good companion, and one that lov'd to eat and drink well with his friends.

And yet though this jovial inclination of his made him little enclin'd to warlike attempts, he nevertheleſs ſent great Succours to the Duke of *Florence*, *Coſmo*, in his Warre againſt the *Sienezes*: and this becauſe the ſaid Duke had promis'd him to make his Brother *Baldwin* Marquis of

Monte San Sabino; which thing was not only executed, but besides, the Dukes Daughter was promised in Marriage to *Fabian de monti Baldovin* his Son; she was afterwards married to *Alfonse* Duke of *Ferrara*.

Giulio made also five of his Nephews Cardinals, to wit, *Christopher di Monte*, *Fulvio de la Corgna*, *Innocentia de monte*, *Geronimo Simoncello*. and *Roberto de Monte pulcrano*. To these he was very liberal, but to say true, not prodigal, as his Predecessors had been. 'Tis true, he did what he could, to make his Brother *Baldwin* Duke of *Camerino*, and deprive the Church of so good a State, but the Cardinals oppos'd him so vigorously, that he was fain to desist from his design.

Julius being dead, the very name of the Nipotisme dyed with him, for in the year 1555 *Marcellus* the Second was made Pope, who would never endure, that any of his kindred should come neer *Rome*, no not his own Brother. Nay more, he would never suffer that two Nephewes of his, who before his Election liv'd with him, following their Studies in *Rome* under his care, should receive any visits as his Nephews, and he forbid him to stir out of doors, least in going to School they should be owned in the streets, and receive the Complements of persons of quality.

They that knew much of his mind while he was Cardinal, said after his death, That his intention was altogether bent to apply some remedy to the ambition of the Popes, and that he had particularly resolved to give to his Brother and Kindred but just as much as would maintain them like ordinary Gentlemen; but not so much as a simple

ple Barony, much leſs Dukedomes and Principalities; and to this he would have the advice and conſent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, having a firme purpoſe of making moſt ſecure decrees, by which the Popes ſhould be bound, and kindred from giving any thing to their Kindred without the conſent of all the Cardinals.

But while he was intent upon ſo good a work, he was ſurprized by death twenty da yes after his election; ſo that in ſo ſhort a time he did neither good nor harme to the Church.

To him ſucceeded *Paul* the Fourth, of the Houſe and Family of *Caraffa* in the ſame yeat 1555. This Pope was one of the moſt fantaſticall ill humour'd men that all the World could afford. He preſently made his Brothers Son *Carlo Caraffa* Cardinal; and to him he gave ſo much Authority, that it ſeemed that the Popes Will depended upon his pleaſure. He excommunicated *Mark Antonia Colomna*, and *Aſcanio* his Son, under divers pretexts, but indeed only to take from them thoſe offices and honours which they had in *Rome*, and, to ſeize upon all their Revenues within the Territories of the Church; which was ſeverely executed; the Pope at the ſame time giving the inveſtiture of all their eſtates to *Giovani*, Count of *Montorio* his Brothers Son, giving him the Title of Duke of *Paliano*, which place he immediatly went about to fortifie, that it might hold out againſt the forces the Coloneſſes were raiſing to recover their lands, as at laſt they did.

A little after he made *Antonio Caraffa* the Earles brother, Marqueſs of *Montebello*, a place

which he had deprived the right owner, the Earl of *Bagno*, of, as being contumacious, and for having, as the *Pope* ſaid, ingroſſed that money which the King of *France* had ſent for the War in *Italy*.

The Nephewes of this *Pope* became at laſt ſo inſolent by their Uncles indulgence, that they did rob, ſpoyl, raviſh, kill, and in a word commit all ſorts of crimes with impunity; Exerciſing ſo many cheats and frauds upon the poor people, that not only they made all the World cry out againſt them, but at laſt moved the indignation of their own Uncle, and provoked him to be ſevere to them, driving them away out of *Rome*, and depriving them of all honour and dignity.

Pius the Fourth of *Milan*, of the Family of the *Medici*, but of that branch that was then ſetled in *Milan*, was choſen *Pauls* Succeſſor; and no ſooner had he taken poſſeſſion of the Popedome, but he fell to frame a proceſs and impeachment againſt the Nipotiſmo of his Predeceſſor, with a deſign to puniſh them ſeverely; which he executed, but with an affront to the holy Character of a Pope, for he made as if he had pardon'd them all their miſdemeanours, which he confirmed with an Oath; to which the *Caraffas* truſting, came to *Rome*, but no ſooner were they there, but by the Popes order, they were clap'd up in priſon, and having undergone a new tryal, were all condemned to die. The Cardinal *Carlo Caraffa* was ſtrangled, the Earls of *Montorio* and of *Alife*, and *Leonardo di Cardine* were beheaded. Thus the City was as it were purged of theſe abominati-

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ons which this Nipotiſmo had defiled it with.

After this the good Pope *Pius*, that he might not come ſhort of the Piety of his Predeceſſors, introduced a new Nipotiſmo; for above five and twenty Nephewes, brothers and ſiſters children, came in upon him, of whom he refus'd none, but raiſed as high as it was poſſible for him to do, making them all rich, and allying them with great families; but his kindneſs did particularly extend to *Giovani Antonio Sarbellone* his Nephew, who ſeemed to be born to heap riches together.

But *Pius* the Fifth, who ſucceeded *Pius* the Fourth, was not at all of this Humour, for he was abſolutely averſe from any ſuch unjuſt wayes of advancing his kindred, having hardly condeſcended to make *Michael Bonello* his Siſters ſon Cardinal; and certainly he had never done it, if all the Cardinals unanimouſly had not raiſed in him a Scruple of Conſcience, by ſaying, That he refuſed to promote one who was moſt worthy of that Honour. Therefore at laſt, and as it were by force, he declar'd him Cardinal, but with a ſtrict Order not to meddle with ſtate affairs without Commiſſion.

Gregory the Thirteenth of the Family of the *Buon Compagni*, who was choſen Pope after the death of *Pius* in the year 1572. followed not ſo good a path, but declin'd to a great indulgence for his Relations. Firſt, he preſently made *Philippo Buoncompagno* his Nephew Cardinal, to whom he gave many Abbyes which were vacant in his Predeceſſors time.

Besides he call'd about him all his Nephewes, and Cozens, to whom he gave Offices, Dignities, Governments and Lordships, enough to make him great. 'Tis true, he shewed no great ambition of making them great Princes, because he saw little probability of a good success, but he heaped Abbies and Prelatures upon them as many as they pleased.

He dyed 1585 the tenth of *April*, and had for Successor upon the 24th of the same Month, *Sixtus* the Fifth of the poor Family of the *Peretti* having been a Monk of that conventual Order, of which *Sixtus* the fourth who lov'd his kindred so well was.

In his first beginning he seem'd a little averse from his kindred, not that he despised them, but he shewed no desire of making them Princes; but they that made any foundation upon this exteriour were much deceiv'd, for there never was a Pope that had a greater love for his relations then this; and all well considered, we shall find, that *Sixtus* the fifth gave away much more to his Nipotismo, then *Sixtus* the Fourth; for his Family of *La Rovere*, was very Noble, and liv'd splendidly, before his assumption to the pontificat, whereas the Family of *Peretti* was so poor, that they had not bread to eat, being fain to beg here and there.

One of *Sixtus* the Fifth his Sisters was a Laundress in *Esteli*, and came to see her Brother in *Rome* upon an Ass, which was led by a Halter by her eldest Son, and with all this he left him all rich and great. He lov'd this Sister of his *Camilla*

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most tenderly, insomuch that he could never see her enough; and for her sake in the first month of his *Popedome*, he made one of her Sons Cardinal, giving him his own Cardinals Cap, and calling him by the name of Cardinal *Montealto*, though he was but one and twenty years old. To him *Sixtus* gave in Abbyes and Church-lands above five and thirty thousand *Duckats* a year, which was no small revenue, in the hands of one, who lov'd much to be thrifty.

To the other *Brother*, who had led the Asse, he gave the chiefest offices and places of *Rome*, and married him with great pomp and solemnity, to a rich Roman Lady.

He assigned 20 thousand Crowns a year to his said sister *Camilla*, who drawing allwayes before her Eyes, her ancient poor condition, could never be brought to lead a great Ladyes life, but liv'd allwayes like a country Woman.

Her two *Daughters* were both married, one to *Virginio Ursino*, and the other to the high Constable of the Kingdome of *Naples*; *Colonna*, to one of which he gave for portion, a hundred thousand Crowns, and made a Cardinal of the family of the *Colonna*, together with great Offices and Revenues.

Besides this, he made *Alexander Beretto* his brothers Son Cardinal, and assign'd him a revenue of twenty thousand *Duckats* in Offices within *Rome*, and in the *Popes* Territories, in which he had great number of *Benefices*.

In a word, *Sixtus* when he dyed left to his *Family* the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand *Duckats* yearly revenue, besides money in specie,

and the wonder of this was, that it was all done without any prejudice to the Church, but ſo much to the contrary; for he ſurpaſſed in the ſtatelineſs of his edifices in *Rome*, the ancient Romans, and yet left behind him five millions of Crowns to the Church, to the aſtoniſhment of all Chriſtendome.

There is little or nothing to be ſaid of *Urban* the ſeventh, who ſucceeded *Sixtus* in the year 1590, becauſe he liv'd but 13 dayes after his election: But his kindred of the houſe of *Caſtagna*, in *Genoa*, having ſuddenly heard the news of his elevation, haſtened to *Rome*; but three dayes journey from *Genoa*, they receiv'd the newes of his death: Whereupon they were forced to return home, and keep cloſe for a great while, to avoyd the deriſion and mocking of their Enemies. And this was, becauſe that they had gone out of the City in great pompe and ſtate; beginning allready to carry themſelves like ſo many Princes: but their pretenſions vaniſhd with the Popes death.

Nevertheleſs the Pope in ſo ſhort a time ſhewed himſelf kind, for he left them ſome conſiderable Legacies, having given away to the company of the Nuntiata, whoſe Protector he had been, all that was in his power to diſtribute.

But that which *Urban* could not compaſs in thirteen dayes, *Gregory* the fourteenth his Succeſſor did in ten months. This Pope was of the family *Sfondrata* of *Milan*, and very deſirous of adding to the greatneſs of his family. And becauſe that *Paulo Emilio Sfondrato* was at the time of his creation

creation in *Milan*, the Pope refus'd to dispatch any busines before his coming to *Rome*, where presently he was made Cardinal, and had twelve thousand Crowns a year assigned him the same day, besides a great number of Abbies and Offices which his Uncle gave him a little after.

The Pope was used to pass most part of his time with this Cardinal; no busines passing, but what was sifted between them; the Pope often saying to him, *Nephew, make a good purse before I die:* And the Nephew, who understood the means, did not fail to obey him, and out of every hundred take ninety for himself; the rest he left to the Church, and that was alwayes the worst money.

Two moneths after, he made the Count *Sfundrati*, another of his Nephews, General of the holy Church, and sent him to the Wars of *France*, having first married him with the daughter of the Prince of *Massa*, and made him Duke of *Monte Marciano*, which Dutchy the Pope pretended to be devolved to the Church, ever since the death of *Alfonso Picolomini*, Duke of the said place, whom the great Duke of *Florence* put to death; and the Pope immediately confiscated all that he enjoyed in the Territories of the Church, pretending, that the said *Alfonso* was a Rebel to the Church: Whereupon he gave his Nephew the investiture of the Dutchy.

Innocentius the ninth succeeded to *Gregory* the fourteenth, in the year 1509. who lived but two months, and by consequence was not in a capacity of leaving much to his Relations; many of them never-

nevertheless were already come from *Bologne*, the Popes native Country; amongst whom he made one Cardinal, and that was *Antonio Facchinetti*; but he gave him no other Office, then that of a Referendary, there being no other of any consideration vacant. 'Tis true, I believe, that he thought not of dying so soon, for else he would have provided more largely for this Cardinal, and the rest of his kindred; His death was very unwelcome to them, all having begun already to build Castles in the air; but particularly to one of them, who pretended to be General of the Churches Forces, to marry a Princess, and be revenged of all his Enemies; but he came so far short of all, that instead of the equipage of a Gentleman, that he came to *Rome* in, he returned in a poor plight to *Bologna*.

A month after, *Clement* the eighth, of the House of *Aldobrandino* of *Florence*, was chosen Pope, with an incredible joy of all the people of *Rome*: He himself was born in the City of *Fano*.

This Pope found his Family full of noble and ancient Blood, but as empty of Riches; therefore calling them to him, he began, by his Predecessours example, to give them Offices, Places, and Dignities, but with a certain moderation, and not precipitating his Favours, as the others had done, but giving to day one thing, and to morrow another, he contented them all without scandal.

In his first promotion of Cardinals, he created two of his Nephews, *viz. Pietro Aldobrandino*, his

his Brothers Son, and *Cinthio Paſſero di Sinigaglia*, his Siſters Son; and with the help of theſe two, the Pope did govern all the Church Affairs, deſiring every thing ſhould paſs by their hands, particularly through Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, whom he lov'd moſt cordially, calling him, *the Idol of his heart*; and often, for fear of contradicting him, he would let him do as he liſted.

The charge of General of the Church, was given to *Giovanni Franceſco Aldobrandino*, another of his Nephews; in which place he enjoyed, not only all of the Prerogatives and Priviledges that had been granted to the other Nephews of Popes, but beſides, his Holineſs encreaſed his pay by two thouſand Crowns a year, and invented new priviledges for him.

In the year 1595. he bought the Marquiſat of *Meldola*, which he beſtowed upon *Octavio Aldobrandino*, another of his Nephews, declaring him abſolute Soveraign of the ſaid place; but yet made him ſtay in *Rome*, that he might be at hand, & loſe no occaſions of getting ſomething elſe from him: at laſt *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, laſt Duke of *Ferrara*, happening to dye in the year 1597. the Pope thought to take this Principality for himſelf, as being devolv'd to the Church, and reſolv'd to give the inveſtiture to his Nephew *Octavio*; ſo having held a publick Conſiſtory, in which he declared, that the Dutchy of *Ferrara* was become the Churches patrimony; and immediately ordered Cardinal *Aldobrandino* to raiſe a powerful Army, and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Dutchy, by driving out *Ceſar* of *Eſte*, who was Heir by

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the Will of the late Duke, and was actually in poſſeſſion: But the Pope pretended, that he being a Baſtard, was incapable of inheriting.

The Cardinal ſoon got together a great Army, and ſo frighted *Don Ceſar*, that he was forced to fly to *Modena*, and leave *Ferrara* to the Pope; and the Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, after ſome Articles agreed on between his Uncle and *Don Ceſar*, entred the place, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Church, with little joy to the Inhabitants, who loſt a good Maſter to fall into the hands of Church-men, who change every day their Governours.

As ſoon as the news of the rendition of *Ferrara* came to the Popes ears, he began, by all means, to procure the inveſtiture for his Nephew *Octavio*, for whom he thought the Marquiſat of *Meldola* but inconſiderable.

But he met with a ſtrange repugnancy in all the Cardinals for his deſign; they having, by a common conſent and union, reſolved to oppoſe the Popes deſire, and not endure, that the Church ſhould be depriv'd of ſo conſiderable a City, which it had but newly acquired.

The Pope foreſeeing, by this reluctancy of the Cardinals, that it was a buſineſs hardly to be carried in a publick Conſiſtory, forbore to ſpeak of it there, but took another courſe; for calling the Cardinals one by one into his chamber, he there ſignified to them his deſire; but they all refuſed to conſent, or be any wayes acceſſary to the alienating ſo conſiderable a piece of the Popedome. So that the Pope thought it was not ſafe to do it with-

without them, and by force, for fear of leaving his Nephew involv'd in a continual War, againſt all the ſucceeding Popes, and *Don Ceſar*: and therefore he reſolv'd to go in perſon, and take poſſeſſion in the name of the Church.

A little after, he made another of his Nephews Cardinal, who was *Silveſtro Aldobrandino*, Prior of *Rome*, to whom he gave an infinite number of Benefices. Thus *Clement* did every day do his endeavour to procure riches for his Family, either in lands or moveables, who of their ſide were as ready to receive, as their Uncle could be to give, particularly when it was ready money.

Leo the eleventh, who ſucceeded to *Clement*, had not the ſame good fortune; for being choſen in the year 1665. he liv'd but five and twenty dayes: In which time he projected much, but executed little; amongſt other things, he gave out, that his deſign was not to advance his kindred, but only to continue them in their quality, and make their Eſtates plentiful and eaſie; which is a certain moderation, which moſt of the Popes do affect to ſhew in their firſt adminiſtration of the Popedom; for even *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave with ſo profuſe a hand, did ſtill pretend, that he did nothing but what was lawful, and to the advantage of the Church.

This Pope had many Relations in the Family of the *Medici*, but in that branch which was not come to be Princes; but his Darling amongſt them, was *Alexander Medici*, ſon to his brother *Bernardetto*, which *Alexander* had a ſon of twenty

ty years old, called *Octaviano*, which was the Popes Fathers name: Whereupon the Pope sent for him, with an intention to make him Cardinal, and keep him by him: but the very same day that he came to *Rome*, the Pope dyed, without being able to promote him to that degree of honour; which was a great affliction to all the kindred.

Now let us speak of *Paul* the fifth, of the Family of *Borgheſe*, made Pope in 1605. who in an instant filled *Rome* with *Borgheſes*.

The Pope was of a most kind nature, and particularly to his kindred; amongst whom, while he was Cardinal, he was wont to spend all his Revenue; but his greatest passion was for *Scipion Carafelli*, his Sisters son, whom he had brought up from a child; and him he made Cardinal, as soon as he was made Pope himself, giving him the name of Cardinal *Borgheſe*; by which name he was ordinarily called, and did subscribe himself.

This Cardinal, was the interpreter of his Uncles mind, the Mediator of his favours, and the Coadjutor in all weighty matters of the State and Church: They that expected any kindnesses from the Pope, were not to purchase them any other way, then by the means of him, who commanded and governed the Pope and all things.

The Pope, desiring to follow his Predecessours steps, and employ his private riches to the publick ornament of the City, took care to provide his Ecclesiastical Nephews of Benefices and Church-

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lands; and his ſecular Kinſmen of Places and Dignities, as they became vacant.

The plenty, into which this *Pope* brought his Family, was ſuch, that they themſelves did ſcarce know how to diſpoſe of it, there flowing in upon them, every day, vaſt ſums of money from all parts of the world, to procure, by their means, the *Popes* favour: Whereupon they, ſeeing no end of their riches, began, out of a complacence to the *Popes* humour (who delighted in the ornament of the City) to build certain publick Edifices, ſo noble and ſtately, that the King of *France*, who hath a Kingdom ſo rich, and powerful, and hereditary, would ſcarce have undertaken the like, at the expence of his whole Kingdom.

The Cardinal begun the Fabrick of that *Palazzo Borgheſe*, in the *Campo Martio*, which is not yet ended; and to perfect it, according to the firſt deſign, it would require the value of half the Churches Territories; nay, it is ſaid, that in the foundation alone, were ſpent above two hundred thouſand Crowns, for they were fain to demoliſh great numbers of houſes, and level hills, before they could bring the ground to that true evenneſs, which the deſign required.

The *Popes* brothers began two Country houſes of pleaſure at the ſame time, one hard by *Rome*, and a little without the *Porta Ponciana*; the other at *Fraſcati*, in the little hills called *Mendragone*: and we may eaſily conclude what treaſure was expended in theſe, by what the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſaid one day to a Gentleman of the Family of *Borgheſe*, who waited upon him thither; for

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the Gentleman having ſhewed one of theſe houſes, asked his opinion of it? and had for anſwer theſe words, *My King would not have undertaken in ſuch calamitous times as theſe are, ſo great a a fabrick for his diverſion in* Madrid.

His Holineſs was ſo overjoyed, to ſee ſuch princely inclinations in his kindred, that he did nothing but ſtudy night and day, how he ſhould enrich them more and more. 'Tis true, he needed not to trouble himſelf much; for his Cardinal *Borgheſe*, who had the Popedom at his diſpoſition, took all the incomes for himſelf, and the Family of the *Borgheſes*, allowing the Pope a ſmall matter, to pleaſe himſelf with the mending of a Street, or a Church, or ſome publick Edifice; this Pope having ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors, in erecting new Edifices, and procuring by all wayes the ornament of the City.

In thoſe dayes the *Nipotiſmo* was moſt triumphant, all the former Popes Nephews having never been inveſted with ſo abſolute an authority, as that of the Cardinal *Borgheſe*, and the reſt of his Nephews.

Paul lived ſixteen years in the Chair of the Popes, ſo that the *Nipotiſmo* had time to give root and foundation to their greatneſs, as indeed they did, but forgot to ſtrike a nail into the Wheel of Fortune, to hinder it from turning about; and therefore not long after, it began to ſlide downwards, as we ſhall declare in time and place.

At laſt, in the year 1621. *Paul* dyed, to the great grief of the *Romans*, who lamented very much his loſs; and indeed he was a very good Paſtour, though he were a little too liberal of the

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Wool of his Flock to his Kindred; for he left to the Prince of *Salmona* alone his Nephew, above a hundred thousand Crowns yearly revenue; to the Cardinal as much, besides the vast sums of money layed out in those Buildings we have mentioned; they were thought also, to have vast sums of ready money, unknown to their Uncle; the Cardinal alone being supposed to have above a million in *specie*: So that *Paul* left not a farthing to the Church.

His Successour was *Gregory* the fifteenth, of *Bologna*, of the noble Family *Ludovisio*, pretty rich, but very abundant in Relations and Kindred.

This Pope, before he began to mannage the publick Affairs of *Christendom*, resolved first to establish the particular Interest of his House and Family; therefore having seen the example of *Leo* the tenth, who by reason of the shortness of his life, could not bestow the dignity of Cardinal upon any of his Relations; three dayes after his creation, he made *Ludovico Ludovisio*, his brothers son, Cardinal; and the same day he made *Oratio Ludovisio*, his brother, General of the Church, though he were absent; and as soon as he came to *Rome*, he made him Duke of *Fiano*, and assigned him other Lands bought with the Churches money.

The same day he distributed amongst some other Nephews, many considerable Offices, both within and without *Rome*, though most of those, upon whom they were conferred, were absent; so that it may be said of the *Nipotisme* of this Pope;

that it was great almoſt before it was born, or at leaſt in its cradle, entring into power and command before it entred into *Rome*.

The Cardinal *Ludoviſio* was he that governed the weighty Affairs, his Uncle depending upon him moſt abſolutely; ſo that often of Negotiations, and Court buſineſs, he would communicate little or nothing to the Pope; and when his Uncle, out of curioſity, would ſometimes go about to inform himſelf how things ſtood; his Nephew would preſumptuouſly anſwer him, and ſay, *What need you trouble your head, eat and drink, and let me alone to ſerve you.*

Every ſtep of this Cardinal was towards the advancement of his Family; and the Pope, not only did let him alone, but would often exhort him to make haſt, leaſt of a ſudden he ſhould be depriv'd of the means: which fell out; for the Pope liv'd but ſeven and twenty moneths; in which time, the *Ludoviſi* minded their buſineſs ſo well, that at their Uncles deceaſe they had amongſt them, two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns yearly revenue, beſides ready money, and that which they ſpent in publick buildings: So that this *Nipotiſmo* does deſerve the title, of the moſt ſubtle & diligent of all the precedent *Nipotiſmo's*, if we conſider the proportion of their riches, and meaſure the ſhortneſs of the time that they were purchaſed in.

With all this they much ſtudied publick applauſe, and to gain to themſelves the good will of the people, and *Roman* Nobility; ſhewing great reſpect for them, and offering their ſervice willingly upon all occaſions. 'Tis true, there

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was not much credit given to theſe demonſtrati-ons, becauſe that the *Romans* were already accuſtomed to ſee ſuch Scenes of diſſimulation: But nevertheleſs, their Uncle, neither alive nor dead, was not proſecuted with *Paſquinades*; his government, or rather his Nephews, having not been ſo tyrannical as covetous. And ſince the *Romans* leave them in peace, ſo will we too, and conclude this book with the death of *Gregory* the fifteenth.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE HISTORY OF THE POPES NEPHEWS.

The Firſt Part.

The THIRD BOOK.

The Contents.

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ALl that we have hitherto related, is nothing but the Vigil or Eve of the *Nipotismo*; now begins the Festival day, in the time of *Urban* the eighth, of the Family of the *Barbarini*, who succeeded *Gregory* the fifteenth, contrary to every bodies expectation, in the year 1623. in the month of *August*.

As soon as the news of his Elevation came to *Florence*, those few remnants of the Family, who were then under the protection of the great Duke, flew, like so many Bees to *Rome* (and the Bees are the *Barbarini*'s Coat of Armes) to suck the Honey of the Church; but they left not behind them their Stings, wherewithall in sucking it, they stung it most bitterly.

Urban in the beginning, shewed not much

tenderness for his kindred, though he did openly own, that he would call them about him: And indeed, in this his beginning, and as it were the blossom of his Popedom, he did one of the worthiest actions of his life, which was the giving of a Cardinals Cap to *Francesco Barbarini*, his Nephew, a Personage truly worthy so great an honour; being endowed with the singular qualities of an exemplary life and integrity, which made him worthy, and more then worthy, of the Popedom it self.

The year after, which was 1624. he made Cardinal, his brother, that was a *Capucin*, and went by the name of brother *Antony Barbarin*, whom the Pope loved entirely; he gave him the title of Cardinal of Saint *Onofrius*; but he had been so accustomed to the strictness of a *Capucines* life, that being raised to this great dignity, he demeaned himself with the same meanness as before; he had much ado to custom himself to that great Cope which the Cardinals wear; neither would their wide large Sleeves agree with him, and he had given order to have them made close and streight, after the *Capucins* fashion: But that that was most ridiculous was, that when he saluted any body, instead of putting off his Hat, he would only put it back with a nod, as the Monks do their Hoods; so that once, in the presence of the *Venetian* Ambassadour, it fell backwards to the ground, with no small laughter of the Assistants: Thus he was the diversion of the whole Colledge of Cardinals.

Don Taddeo, the Popes other brother, was made General of the Churches Forces, Prefect of *Rome*, and

and in the long reign of his brother, had so many Civil and Military Offices conferr'd upon him, that he could not remember them himself; the rather, because that he never car'd to exercise the functions of them, so he might receive the revenue, which he forgot not to put up carefully; that is, in a word, he took a good account of the profit, but could give none of the satisfying the obligation those Offices laid upon him.

In the year 1668. the seventh of *February*, the Pope, that he might more and more fortifie the Family of the *Barbarines*, created another Cardinal of that name, *viz. Antonio Barbarino*, *Francesco*'s brother, under the title of *Santa Maria in Aquino*.

These two brothers, though elevated to the same dignity, were nevertheless of a different humour; for one made it his business, to edifie the publick by good actions; and the other, did nothing but scandalize all the world by his vicious deportments; insomuch, that whosoever will weigh the vertues of the one against the vices of the other, shall see, that the ill actions of Cardinal *Antonio*, are far heavier then the good ones of his brother, though his brothers piety be very great.

'Tis true, that when once Cardinal *Antonio* began to frequent the *French*, that he changed, as it were his nature, for of a covetous hater of Learning, he became a generous promoter of Ingenuity, and very officious to all sorts of persons; so that now we may say, that he is a noble Prince, and a good Cardinal, whereas before he was esteemed an ill bred Gentleman, and a wicked Cardinal, and as much

much blame and dishonour as he contracted then, so much reputation and credit hath he now gained.

Urban in the beginning shew'd a most exact diligence, in the government of the Church; and in truth, Cardinal *Francesco*, and he, did take no small pains in reforming the abuses, as well of the Clergy and *M*onks, as of the Court and temporal administration; so that forraign Princes and Nations were very much edified, by the *P*opes zeal, and Cardinal *Francesco* his sincerity, by which he did endeavour to please every body.

But after five or six years time passed thus in the continual cares of the Pontificat, he began to grow weary, not of doing good, but of doing it so often; therefore leaving the mannagement of the most important Affairs to his Nephews, he began to take his ease, and they taking possession of business, did at the same time engross their Uncles inclinations and intentions, that they did, as it were, bind his will to theirs.

Then the desire of growing rich did so blind them, that night and day they did think of nothing else, but of the means to make themselves Princes, eternize their Family, and fill their Coffers with treasure.

As soon as any Abbey was vacant, it was immediately conferr'd upon one of them, and then as soon as any other good Benifice fell out, it was presented to the other; so that between them, they had all that was rich and worth speaking of, at last, both Cardinals, being so full that they could hold no more, would bestow vacant Benifices

fices upon their little Nephews: nay, to above five or six of *Urban*'s little Cozens, were given Benefices while they were yet in their Cradles; the precedent Popes Decrees being despised, and by these proceedings, the very bread taken out of the mouths of those Prelates, that had served the Church with zeal and care; which was enough almost to make them desperate, seeing little children, scarce born, preferred to them, who had so much deserts. More then this, I think it may be said, that some Benefices were disposed of to those that were not yet born; for in the Articles of marriage of one of the *Barbarines* with a Lady of the Family of *Colonna*, one was, *That a certain Abby should be given to the first-born*; so that in the time of this good Pope, Church lands were bestowed on those, who were not yet in the world, but by imagination; and those that had really, and with great pains, serv'd the Church, were altogether depriv'd of their reward.

A certain Prelate of *Bologne*, who with great zeal had bestirred him in his Ecclesiastical imployment, went to *Rome* to receive his recompence, and having presented himself to the *Barbarines*, was desired to stay a little while: This little while proved the space of eight years, in which an infinity of Benefices were vacant, but the good Prelate could get none of them, because that the *Barbarines* divided all amongst themselves; he seeing this, resolved to return home empty as he came; and as he was going out of *Rome*, some body from the *Barbarines* told him, that he ought to expect a little longer, and take a little more patience: To whom, with tears in his eyes, he answered;

ſwered, *They muſt be Saints, and not men, who can ſee the bread eaten from their mouths by the* Barbarines, *and not be caſt into deſpair.*

Another, who had ſtayed as long to no purpoſe, reſolved at laſt to be gone; and being importun'd by his friend to ſtay a little longer, anſwered him thus, *If the Church, dear friend, had as many Popedomes, as the Pope hath Nephews and Cozens, and that there one that did not ſee ſome where, I might have ſome hopes; but ſince there is but one Popedom, I ſhould be a fool to expect any part of it from thoſe, who do not think it enough to divide among themſelves.*

Of theſe examples, I believe, I could make half a dozen Volumes in folio, and all of perſons that are now living; but I will not weary the Reader with the Lecture of them; Let it ſuffice for him to know, that *Urban* never gave any thing for a recompence, to thoſe that had ſerved the Church, except his Nephews had firſt refuſed it; and they refuſed ſo little, that in the end, all *Urban*'s rewards amounted to nothing.

If any body could brag of a conſiderable fortune made under the *Barbarini*, it was a ſign, that ſuch a one had ſerv'd them, and not the Church.

Thus in the year 1641. the Pope made *Aſcanio Filomarino* Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of *Naples*, though the ſervice he had done the Church, did ſcarce deſerve him a ſimple Canonicat, ſo far was he from meriting an Archbiſhoprick, yet *Urban* promoted him, becauſe he had done moſt eminent ſervice to the *Barbarines* family: And indeed, in this *Urban* cannot but be thanked, for

enriching

enriching the Church (though his deſign were not ſuch) with a perſon adorned with ſo many excellent qualities, which made him worthy of the Popedom it ſelf; having, ſince this his elevation, edified, not only his Flock, but all *Chriſtendome*, and rendred moſt ſingular ſervice to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in the revolt of *Naples*, and the buſineſs of *Maſſinello*, in the year 1647.

If the *Barbarines* pretend to the contrary, that they have advanced and promoted thoſe who had a true zeal for the Church, they will do well to produce their names: But I deſire my Reader to take this precaution, and obſerve, that if any body was rewarded, under pretence of having ſerved the Church, there was the Cheat; for they that pretended moſt to ſerve the Church, were they, that in effect did work the *Barbarines* deſigns and intereſts to an iſſue: Upon this account, in one promotion, were made Cardinals the following Prelates, *Gio. Baptiſta Pamphilio*, who was ſince *Innocentius* the tenth, *Gio. Franceſco Palotta*, and *Gio. Franceſco de Conti guidii da Bagno*; the firſt, becauſe he had been Nuntio in *Spain*, the ſecond in *Germany*, and the third in *France*; yet the Pope could never be brought to make *Monſignor Viſconti*, who was Nuntio in *Polonia*, Cardinal, for all the great inſtances of that King, though the ſaid *Viſconti* was a moſt worthy Prelate, and one who had done the Church more ſervice in his Employment, then all the other three together; and yet for all that, he remained excluded, while the others were admitted to that honour.

Why then was this affront done to *Viſconti*?

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I'le tell you; while he was in *Polonia*, he serv'd the Church, and not the *Barbarines*; and the others, in their Nuntiatures, did the quite contrary.

Naturally *Urban* was averse from making of Cardinals; and if some urgent necessity did not force him, could hardly be brought to it; and yet for his family, he made no difficulty of breaking the precedent Popes Decrees, and the Laws of the Church, which forbid to make two brothers Cardinals, while they are both alive: but he did this only to satisfie his Nephews; and at last, was brought by them to make great numbers of other Cardinals; for they, being towards the end of the Pontificat weary of heaping together, began to think, how they should preserve their treasure and power; and therefore, to fortifie their party, they obliged their Uncle, to make a numerous promotion of their Creatures.

If ever the *Romans* murmured and made Pasquins, it was in the time of this *Nipotismo*; for when the *Barbarines* took away from the Church called the *Rotonda*, that excellent piece of Workmanship of *Bronze*, (for which we have no name but Bell-metal) to make that piece of Architecture and Pillars, which adorns the Altar in Saint *Peters* Church, which is one of the most noble and magnificent Works that ever was undertook, all the people cryed in the streets, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barbarini*; and they thought they had a great deal of reason to exclaim thus against them, because it was certainly affirm'd, that the *Barbarines* had diverted above half the metal to their private use in their Palace;

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and some say, that they made racks for their Chimneys of it, but I scarce believe it.

But that Pasquin, which was made in the time that *Gustave Adolfe*, King of *Swede*, invaded *Germany*, was fuller of curiosity; for there were certain Images in paper, that represented the Church of God, all naked upon a little bed, and full of the wounds she had received from *Gustave*, and covered over with Flies or Bees, which were the *Barbarines* Armes; near the bed, was the Emperour upon his knees, craving aid from the Church, that he might fight for the Church; from whom he did receive this answer; *I have nothing to give thee, O my Defender, for the Flies have sucked me even to the very bones*, making allusion to the *Barbarines* Armes.

Another time were found in the streets of *Rome*, a great quantity of *Pictures*; in every one of which was drawn a poor Prelate, asking Alms from the Church to content himself withall; to whom the Church made answer, *For my part, I have not a farthing, the* Barbarines *have taken all from me.*

Almost at the same time, was seen a Medal, which represented *Pasquin*, loaden with Swords, Musquets, Daggers, and other Weapons, with an inscription that said,

To drive away the Flies;

which thing displeased the *Barbarines* beyond measure, conceiving that all this was nothing but a design to make the people rise in Armes against them; so that though they set a good face upon it, yet secretly they disposed things to their defence, in case of a sedition.

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And certainly had it not been, that the *Romans* did every day look for the Popes death, there would have happened ſome revolution, for the hatred of the people to the *Barbarines* encreaſed more and more the longer the Pope lived; one thing particularly exciting publick envy and jealouſie, which was, that the *Barbariens* did every day plant their Armes in ſome place or another of the City, to eternize their Name and Family.

One of my friends had the curioſity, to reckon all the Bees (that is, the *Barbarines* Armes) that the *Barbarines* had placed here and there, as well in the City, as in the State of the Church, and found their number to be above ten thouſand, in Painting, Stone and Marble.

The *Barbarines* tryed to make themſelves great Princes; and truſting to the great ſums of money which they had got together, thought they might make themſelves Maſters of a good part of *Italy*: Their firſt deſign was, to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Urbin*, which in the year 1631. was fallen to the Church, by the death of *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*; but they found the Cardinals very averſe, and reſolved not to conſent to the alienation of ſo conſiderable a part of the Popedom; they thought therefore that it was better to let it alone, conſidering the injuries they had already done to *Venice*, and the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who without doubt would have croſſed their deſign.

But to be at once revenged of their Enemies, and draw reſpect from their Friends, they fram'd a deſign of driving the *Spaniards* out of the King-

Kingdom of *Naples*, and giving the Crown of that Kingdom to *Don Tadeo*; this they thought, by reason of the decaying State that the House of *Austria* was then in, that they might bring to pass with little or no trouble; but when the business came to be weighed, and discussed, in the presence of a Prelate, of great esteem and credit, of their party, he told them, *That the* Neapolitans *had received such ill impressions of the Pope and his Family, that they would sooner give themselves to the* Turk, *then to the Barbarines.*

After this, they began to molest *Odoardo Farneze*, Duke of *Parma*, a Prince who had deserved better from the Church; and their design was, to deprive him absolutely of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and give them to *Don Tadeo*; but they met with greater obstacles then they expected, for the *Italian* Princes, his Neighbours, being allarm'd at the *Barbarines* greatness, opposed them smartly; and the Duke himself, being a noble couragious Prince, not only made a stout resistance, but drove them and their Army back to *Rome*; from which place he might have chased and expelled the *Barbarines* themselves, if he had been as malicious as they.

This Enterprise having thus failed, they fell to courting the Republick of *Luca*; but in their courtship they were a little preposterous, by shewing their desire of Empire, before they had gained their Mistresses affections; for having excommunicated her, the *Lucheses*, being advertised of their good intentions, prevented, by timely remedies, the execution of them: And thus the *Barbarines* were fain to give over with

ſhame that which they had begun with raſhneſs.

Perceiving at laſt, that none of theſe Ambitious plots would hit, and that all Princes and the Cardinals themſelves began to be weary of their long tyranny; they conceived a thought of making the Popedome hereditary in their family, which thing ſeemed at firſt feaſible, becauſe that moſt of the Cardinals that had been created at their recommendation, had a very good opinion of Cardinal *Franciſco*; and beſides, they had a ſecret way of compaſſing this their deſign, which, though very wicked, was yet well enough invented; and that was, to give to every Cardinal of their creatures, who were much above the two thirds of the Colledge; ſome one City of the Popedome, which they ſhould enjoy for their lifetime, as Soveraign Princes, and ſo make as many Princes as Cardinals, but above all, they had reſolved to preſent Cardinal *Richelieu*, with the whole ſtate of *Avignon*, that they might have aſſiſtance from the *French*, in the reſt of their enterprize.

They had betwixt them, divers conferences and meetings upon this new project, and *Don Tadeo* made every thing ſo eaſie, that it was a great pleaſure to hear him diſcourſe upon it; but Cardinal *Franceſco*, who judged according to the rules of conſcience and true policy, laughed it out of doors, and order'd there ſhould be no more mention made of it. This deſign being thus cruſhed in the Cradle, to the great diſpleaſure of thoſe that had conceived it, the *Barbarines* layed aſide all thoughts of becoming Princes, and continued

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in their wonted way of gathering riches, in which they met with all ſucceſs and facility, by reaſon of the great experience they had of the intereſts and buſineſs of the Church. And certainly there ſcarce ever was a more able and capable Nipotiſmo then this, for no ſooner were they in poſſeſſion of the management of the affairs of *Europe*, but they ſhewed themſelves maſter Politicians.

And indeed the authority which *Urban* gave to Cardinal *Franceſco* was not ordinary; and though the precedent Popes, had in effect given all power to their Nephewes, yet were they contented with the ſubſtance of the thing, and did not affect new names, and titles. But *Urban* thought, it was not enough to give the power, except he gave with it the vanity, and appearance of honour; therefore his Nephew *Franceſco*, to be Cardinal *Padroen*, that is, Cardinal, Maſter, and Lord, a title never heard of before in *Rome*; for the Popes his Predeceſſors, when they ſpoke of their Nephewes would ſay, for example, *the Cardinal* Ludoviſio *our Nephew*, *the Cardinal* Borgheſe *our Nephew:* but *Urban* from morning to evening, had nothing in his mouth, but the Cardinal *Padrone*, as, *call the Cardinal* Padrone, *where is the Cardinal* Padrone, *ſpake to the Cardinal Padrone*, &c. ſo that nothing was heard up and down, but Cardinal *Padrone*, to the aſtoniſhment of the Embaſſadours of Chriſtian Princes, who thought themſelves honoured enough, to call themſelves the Popes Sons, and own him as Father, while he in the preſence of their Embaſſadours, gives the title of *Padrone* to his Nephew; nay, in the preſence of ſome Princes themſelves,

he uſed this Title, as it happened to the Duke of *Parma*, which occurrence, as memorable, I ſhall here relate.

Odoardo Farneze, Duke of *Parma*, was come in the year 1626, into his little ſtate of *Caprarola*, for the giving of ſome Orders which requir'd his preſence; there he received an invitation by a letter from the Pope, brought by *Monſignor Fauſto*, the Popes Steward, who waited upon him with the Popes Coaches.

The Dukes intention was not to go to *Rome*, not that he had any averſion to the P[illegible] but becauſe that he was well informed of the treacherous proceedings of the *Barbarines* towards many Princes, and particularly towards himſelf.

Nevertheleſs, for fear, leaſt a denial ſhould be interpreted, as a diſreſpect to the Popes Majeſty; (particularly, having been once before as far as the Gates of *Rome*, without going into the City,) and ſeeing himſelf ſo fairly invited, he reſolved to go as he was in the habit of a Travellor, and with a ſlender Court.

The Pope indeed received him with all demonſtrations of kindneſs; but the *Barbarines* uſing their wonted diſſimulation, after they had given him ſome publike ſignes of reſpect and civility, did likewiſe afford him ſome occaſion of complaint; of which the Duke being much offended, thought he could do no leſs, then ſignifie it to the Pope at his departure, and complain of the proceedings of the Cardinal *Padrone* towards a Prince of his quality; but he did not give him the Title of *Padrone*, but only of Cardinal *Barbarino*.

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The Pope was displeased, to see the Duke thus angry, and went about to appease him, but in vain. For having said that he knew that the Cardinal *Padrone* had a very great esteem for his person, the Duke interrupted him, and said, *Most holy Father; for my part, I know no other Padrone then your Holiness.*

This answer was quick, and biting, having been made to the Pope himself, who thereby saw his Title of *Padrone* laughed at; and indeed the Duke had a great deal of reason to mortifie thus the *Barbarines*, who pretended to treat him more like their subject, then like a Prince.

But the *Barbarines* ambition stayed not in the Title of Cardinal *Padrone*; they took exceptions against the quality of *Illustrissime*, with which hitherto the Cardinals had been content for so many Ages, but pretending higher, strove to find out some terme that should not be inferiour to the Title of excellency, which Soveraign Princes in *Italy*, and other places, did then take.

This important point was often discussed, and canvassed by *Urban*, and the *Barbarines*, and more then four or five singular Titles came into their fancies; at last they pitched upon the word *Eminency*, which in effect he gave to the Cardinals, not so much for their sake, as for his Nephews. The Princes no sooner heard of it, but that they might be even with him, they took the Title of *Highness*, the *Barbarines* remaining much mortified at it.

But the best of it was, that at first *Urban* had no mind that any of the Cardinals should use the Title of *Eminency*, except those of his family;

but afterwards foreſeeing that the world would laugh at him, he made his decree general for all the Cardinals.

All this while it ſeemed as if the *Barbarines* had chained good fortune to their deſires, all things ſucceeding according to their wiſhes; and indeed they were become ſo high in their commands, that they deſpiſed every body, and could hardly brook that any Crown in *Europe* ſhould oppoſe, or not condeſcend to the ſatisfying of their inſatiable inclinations.

Never Prince was more abſolute in a conqueſt, then the *Barbarines* were in their adminiſtration of the Church and City of *Rome*; they laughed at any body; let thoſe that would talke and prate; but nothing but deriſion and ſcorn was the ſhare of thoſe that went about to contradict them.

'Tis true, they had the good fortuue to meet with little or no oppoſition, for in the whole conſiſtory of the Cardinals, there were but five, who were not their Creatures, *viz.* *Medici*, *Savelli*, *Caraffa*, *Lauri*, and *Capponial*, creatures of *Paul* the fifth, and theſe too being of a quiet ſpirit, and not undertaking, durſt never oppoſe them ſtiffly: The others who had been made Cardinals by them did nothing but ſubſcribe to the *Barbarines* pleaſure whatever it was, ſo they lorded it over the Church and State, nay, over all Chriſtendome, as abſolute Monarchs of the World.

This uncontrouled power having laſted three and twenty years, *Urban* their Uncle died, leaving the Church in diſorder, the State in debt, and his family in poſſeſſion of ſuch vaſt riches, that even the Stewards that managed them, could hardly believe

believe the truth of their accounts. Two hundred and seven and twenty Governments, Dignities, Offices, Abbies, and Benefices of the richeſt ſort, were then in the family of the *Barbarines*; the Revenue of which was ſo great, that I believe the *Barbarines* never computed it, though they receiv'd it.

The Catholick King, who is maſter of ſo many Provinces, and who takes a pride in filling whole ſheets of Paper with his Titles, could not produce halfe ſo many as the *Barbarines* could have done after the death of their Uncle.

As for ſummes of ready mony it is not to be imagined how great they are that they have. 'Tis believed, that Cardinal *Franceſco* alone hath under ground, above two millions of Crowns in Gold; Beſides what the Cardinal *Antonio* hath hidden and ſpent in his long Exile; And beſides what *Don Tadeo* ſent to *Paleſtrina*, to be buried in a new vault under ground; and it is very certain, that about two months before *Urban* dyed, there were met in two nights above threeſcore and ten Mules, loaden with mony, going to *Paleſtrina*, where *Don Tadeo* was to receive them.

But we have another argument of the *Barbarines* prodigious riches. For if *Sixtus* the Fifth, in five years time, could ſpend five Millions of Crowns, in buildings and founding of Colledges, and leave five millions more to the Church, and yet give away three Millions at leaſt to his kindred. And if *Gregory* the Fifteenth in two years time ſpent vaſt ſumms, for the ſuccour of the *Valteline* and the *Emperour*, and in the embelifhing of *Rome*, and yet left to his Relations the value of

above three Millions of Crowns. Then I say, let any body judge what riches the *Family* of the *Barbarines* are in possession of. They that for the space of three and twenty year have had the whole *Popedome* at their disposition; and who in all that time never spent for the Church, or in publick Edifices, above four Millions of Crowns in Gold; and yet the people was never more oppressed: therefore we must conclude, That their riches are immense; and if we may calculate them by comparison of what the other *Popes* Nephews have got, they must have above thirty Millions of Crowns; and they that judge well, will not think it too much.

The power of this Nipotismo expired not with their Uncle; and though under his Successor they suffered a sharp *Persecution*, yet are they even now at this time so recovered of it, that they still deserve the Title of the Nipotismo *Di Roma*, there being three Cardinals of them alive, a thing which was never seen before, and will scarce be seen hereafter in *Rome*, that there should be three Cardinals of the same Name and *Family*; and that which is most considerable is, that they are now in great esteem with the *Romans*. *Francesco*, who is the Elder Brother, being respected as a Saint; and if he be alive when the Sea of *Rome* shall be vacant, he will go near to get the *Popedome* once more into his family, and the Cardinals ought to choose him for three reasons.

First, Because of the purity of his life; neither can it be said, that he Counterfits Piety, and feigns devotion, as many others have done. Because, it is not possible, that a man shall equally deceive

the

the World in his Infancy, his youth, his riper years, and his old age; therefore, certainly, since this Cardinal hath appear'd, even from his youth, to be what he now is, we ought to conclude him to be of an unfeigned integrity.

The second reason, for which Cardinal *Franeesco* deserves to be Pope, is his great experience in Ecclesiastick and Civil affairs, there being no Cardinal now alive, that is half so well instructed in them as he: so that upon this score Christendome would be sure to be well provided of a Pope.

The third reason is, That the *Barbarines* being already exceedingly rich, they would not now be so subject to that great avidity of heaping treasure upon treasure as they were at first. But I reckon without mine host, and would do better to leave these thoughts to the Cardinals, who will have time enough to examine them, since *Alexander* hath of late taken new forces, and is not like to dye yet.

The second Cardinal of this Family, that is *Antonio*, hath by his change of life, wiped away that scandalous impression, which his first demeanours, under the Pontificat of his Uncle, had given of him. And indeed, in that time he did lead a life too full of liberty and debauchery, and did not only scandalize all *Europe*, but by his proud carriage disobliged the Embassadours of many Princes, and made the *Romans* hate him so, that at midnight they would cry out in the streets, *il Cardinal Antonio serve in Roma di demonii*: but as I have said already, After he once began to frequent the *French*, and follow their humour,

humour, he changed his nature, and the *Romans* changed their note to his advantage, seeing him become generous, full of affability and civility, and much enclin'd to promote learning, so that now they cry *Antonio Barbarino, sembra un angelo divino.* But for the Popedome, he need not expect it; for all the Miracles in the World, will not take away altogether an ill impression from the *Italians*, when once it hath had a foundation in their minds.

Charles Barbarino, who is the third, is very obsequious to his Uncle *Francesco*, who does with a great deal of care give him such instructions, as may breed Vertue and Piety in him. Many think that most of his good qualities are feigned; but for my part, I think, we ought to judg well of exteriour probity, and leave the secret of dissimulation to him that knowes the heart; though most say, That he is *Cardinal* Antonio *within*; *and Cardinal* Francesco *without.*

But now it is time to leave the *Barbarines*, and come to *Donna Olympia*'s brother in Law, that is *Innocentius* the Tenth, who was chosen in 1649, contrary to the worlds expectation; not but that he was endowed with sufficient good qualities for so high a post: but that is the least thing that is considered by the Nipotismo, who in the creation of a new Pope are very careful not to advance one who should prove the enemy of their Family.

In this Conclave, the *Barbarines* had resolved to give their votes and those of their party, rather to Cardinal *Medici*, then to Cardinal *Pamphilio*; and

and the ſooner, becauſe, that upon the point that the Cardinals were to go into the Conclave, there were divers Paſquins made, and amongſt the others this, *Quardateri di far Papa* Pamphilio *che vi Mandarebbe tutti in Eſilio*; and this other, *Pamphilio Mandara le Moſche in Eſilio:* So that the chiefeſt aime of the Nipotiſmo was to procure the excluſion of *Pamphilio*, not only by means of their creatures, but alſo by a formal oppoſition from *France*, which the Cardinal *Antonio* was very earneſt for in that Court; but the more he beſtirred himſelf for this excluſion, the more prognoſticks there were of a contrary ſucceſs.

Innocentius being then choſen in ſpight of the *Barbarines*, began to perſecute them moſt furiouſly, and with ſo much rage and paſſion, that though at firſt no body pittyed them, yet at laſt it was thought too ſevere a proceeding: In the mean time *Rome* was furniſhed immediately with another Nipotiſmo, as if it had been a perpetual cuſtome and tradition of the Church not to be without one.

This Pope had but one Nephew, called *Camillo Pamphilio*; who by him was made Cardinal in the firſt promotion with the Title of *Padrone*, though he were very unfit for ſo weighty an Employment. But *Innocent* did think to inſtruct him by little, and ſhape him for buſineſs. 'Tis true, that in his Remonſtrances, he would be ſo ſharp and crabbed, following the Nature of his Temper, that the Cardinal, farre from learning any thing, was put out of conceit with buſineſs, and began to hate it extreamly; and becauſe the Pope continued every day to reproach him with his

his incapacity and dulneſs, the poor Cardinal was often forced to feign ſickneſs, and pretend ſome incommodity to avoyd giving of Audience to Ambaſſadours, and publick Miniſters; thus would he be whole dayes without daring to appear in his Uncles preſence, in which time he did nothing but contrive how he ſhould be rid of this yoak; which though of Gold, ſeemed to him to be of Iron, looking upon himſelf as upon the greateſt ſlave of the World.

And at laſt he began to think, that the precedent *Popes* having declar'd ſome one of their Nephews, *Princes*, and married them advantagiouſly, it would not be amiſs that his Uncle ſhould do as much for him. And indeed, when the newes was publiſhed, that *Camillo Pamphilio* was made Cardinal, moſt wiſe men wondred at it; Conſidering, that whereas, all the deſires of the precedent *Popes* had been to eternize their name and family, by marriages with *Princeſſes* and perſons of great quality; yet that *Innocentius* having but this Nephew in the World, as the only bud of the *Pamphilian* family, ſhould not only condeſcend, but, as it were force him, be a Cardinal, and renounce Marriage; ſhewing therein an avidity for preſent honour, but little or no care for his poſterity.

But Cardinal *Pamphilio* conſidered better of it; and ſeeing that all the Nipotiſmo conſiſted in him alone, reſolved to act all the parts of it, and play ſometimes the Cardinal and *Politician*, ſometimes the *Prince* and the gallant, and ſo make up a perfect Nipotiſmo.

To

To help him in the execution of his design there happened the faireſt occaſion that ever was; for at that very time, the Princeſs of *Roſſana*, being become a Widdow, and having the happy qualities of rich, young, and beautiful; he thought he might gain her; and indeed it ſucceeded accordingly: for this Lady, though ſhe were demanded in Marriage by divers Soveraign Princes, was pleaſed to place all her affections upon the Cardinal *Camillo*, who courted her ſecretly with a reſolution to marry her.

Neither is it to be wondred at that ſo accompliſh'd a Lady, ſhould encline to beſtow her ſelf upon one who was ſo far from being lovely: For her end in it was ambition, ſuppoſing that by this marriage, ſhe would inſinuate her ſelf into the Popes favour, and by her beauty and taking carriage, attract his kindneſs, and ſo be miſtreſs of the Church, the ſtate, the Pope, and her huſband.

But things fell out farre different to her expectation, for no ſooner had the Pope the newes of the match, and that they were promiſed to one another, but he immediatly baniſh'd them both from *Rome*.

The Princeſs made ſome reſiſtance, and refuſed to obey this his order; ſaying in her defence, That *he had liberty to baniſh his Nephews, as much as he pleaſed, but not the Roman Princeſſes.* Neither would ſhe depart the City, the ſame day her Husband left it; but ſome time after ſhe followed, ſaying, that it was not to obey the Pope, but to go to her Husband.

There

There was no body in Court or City, who did not pity this Ladies case, and tax the Pope not only of ingratitude towards a princess, who had refused great Princes to marry his Nephew, but also layed brutishness and dulness to his charge, as one who could not see the infinite advantages this match did bring to his family; and to say true, there was nothing in this alliance, that could with any reason move the Popes indignation against his Nephew, who was the only support of the family, and who for his natural defects and incapacity of business, ought rather to have been excused, then reproached with this so advantagious a change of condition; where the fortune, the beauty, the youth, and the parts of the Lady were incomparable qualities, which might be sufficient to make a Queen, besides fecundity, which soon after she shewed.

Yet for all this, the Pope did stop his eares to all reason, and guided, or rather miss-led by his own fancy, and the perswasions of *Donna Olympia*, continued his severity towards this new married couple.

If we may guess at the reasons of this so extraordinary a proceeding, I believe the chiefest was, because, that this Pope by an extravagant capriccio had resolv'd to introdruce his Sister in Law, in the place of the other Popes Nipotismo's; and he accordingly gave to *Donna Olympia*, an absolute authority, not only over the Church and State, but over his own person, not daring to take any resolution without this Ladies leave.

And

And this was a thing without Example; for if *Alexander* the ſixth gave himſelf up to *Vanoccia* the *Roman* Courtiſan, by whom he had many baſtards, yet he never ſuffer'd her to have any hand in the Government, but would divert himſelf in his houres of recreation with her. Whereas *Donna Olympia* was called to the *Vatican*, not to ſerve *Innocentius*, but to command him, which ſhe did with ſo much authority, that ſhe ſeemed to be the Pope, and he to be neither a man, nor a Pope.

If ever the Church was ſhamefully ſet out, and ſatyrically painted by the Heretieks, it was in this time; for there was not any place where the publick diſcourſe was not about this extravagant fancy of the Popes to renounce his own Nephew, and give himſelf and the Popedome, into the hands of a Woman, heretofore --------- and now grown ambitious and covetous.

Catholicks and Hereticks together were aſtoniſh'd, and did murmure to ſee, that he who called himſelf the head of the Church, ſhould be ſubject to the appetite of a woman; and that to her ambitious deſires, he ſhould be content to ſacrifice his own Nephew, and deprive himſelf of that help and ſuccour, which according to the example of his predeceſſors, he might have expected from him.

If there were any Offices vacant, or places empty in the Court, nothing was to be determin'd about them, without the advice of *Donna Olympia*; nay, if there were Benefices to be conferr'd, the Officers of the *Datary* or *Chancery* durſt not expediate the Bulls for them, having receiv'd an expreſs

expreſs order from his holineſs, to ſuſpend the expedition of all buſineſs, 'till his ſiſter in Law was inſtructed of it, and gave her conſent.

If any Biſhopricks were to be provided with able Paſtors; all the competitors made it their buſineſs to Court her; and that which was worſt, was, that they ordinarily carried it, who offered moſt money, and not they that had greateſt deſerts; though it were true, That the more the perſon was unfit, the more was he fain to give to be admitted.

But this Womans pride, carried her to that point of inſolence, that not thinking it enough to have had a Cardinals Cap for one of her young Nephews, altogether unworthy of ſo high a Dignity, but pretended beſides, that in all promotions, her voyce and conſent ſhould be expected, and followed: From hence proceeded that the Courtiers, ſeeing her exerciſe this power, either, out of fear, or hope, did frequent her Palace, and daily go to wait upon her, not daring to put any end to buſineſs already begun, or begin any other, before they had acquainted her with every particularity of it.

Cardinal Panzirolo himſelf, Secretary of State to *Innocentius*, and oppreſſed with multitude of affairs, and the indiſpoſition of his body, was not free from this baſe Cour ſhip; but that he might humour his maſter, who was infinitely pleaſed to ſee *Donna Olympia* obeyed, was fain to go in perſon very often to wait upon her, and give her an account of all the ſecret negotiations of the Court, and of every thing that paſſed through his hands: after which ſhe would from time to

time,

time, go to the *Vatican*, followed with a numerous company of Coaches, and her hands full of Papers, which she had already drawn up, as she would have them pass, and there stay whole houres with the *Pope*, in discussing, and ripening other business that was next to fall in order.

The wits of the Court seeing this, could not forbear so good a subject for *Pasquins*, but made them with all sharpness, yet as secretly as they could, they being well inform'd of the danger, oft exposing the defects of those that Rule: and though every body were mov'd with indignation to see the *Pope* so much mistake himself, as to preferre the company of a Woman to that of his Nephew, and the Princess of *Rossana* his Wife, the only prop of the Family of *Pomphilio*; yet *Innocent* was so prepossessed against them, that he would not hear of his Nephewes submissions and excuses.

These murmurs and satyrical Discourses were all this while, either concealed from the *Pope*, or at least dissembled by him; as being unresolved of the means that should bridle so many tongues, and stop the mouthes of all Christendome; particularly, of the *Protestants*, who made very good sport with this female Government, not only laughing at the Pope, who by the assistance of the holy Ghost could not discern that which was the ruin of his reputation and family, but also by immodest representations, and contumelious pictures, giving the world to understand, that they were fully inform'd of the disorders of the Court of *Rome*.

But at last the Pope, not being able to endure any longer the secret reproofs, and publick affronts which he received from Embassadours, and Princes themselves, as well as from the greatest part of the Cardinals; resolv'd to dismiss from the Court this ambitious sister in Law, whose unbridled licence he had hitherto countenanced, and to take away from her all sort of command and power.

Thus *Donna Olympia* being banished from Court, and the *Vatican* purged of her corruptions, the Pope bethought himself of introducing a Nipotismo, that the Church might not loose its prescription.

But before we begin to discourse of the particularities of this new Nipotismo, it will not be amiss to give an account of all the Popes kindred & relations, and begin with his neerest. He had one Nephew, and two Neeces, besides a sister, of whom we shall say but little as, well because she led a Nuns life in a Convent, as, because that *Donna Olympia*, out of a natural jealousie between Women, took care to keep her from receiving any kindnesses or favours from the Pope.

The Prince *Camillo Pamphilio*, though after three years banishment, he were at last recall'd to *Rome* with his Lady, was nevertheless in so ill a predicament with his Uncle, who never was able to forget those tales which *Donna Olympia* had continually entertained him with, to his Nephews disadvantage, that he was in *Rome*, as if he had been at the *Indies*, never coming neer the

Pope.

Pope or Court, at which he was not much troubled, as one who cared not to be concern'd in buſineſs, and thought himſelf happy enough in all private enjoyment of ſo lovely a Lady as his was.

Of the two ſiſters, the Popes Neeces, the eldeſt was married to *D. Andrea Giuſtiniani*, who himſelf was a great favourite of fortune: For the Marqueſs *Giuſtiniani*, a perſon of great quality and eſtate, ſeeing himſelf without any heirs of his family and name, caſt his Eyes by chance upon this Gentleman who was then very poor and low, and though, as it afterwards proved, he was of the ſame branch of the *Giuſtiniani* with the Marqueſs; yet it was at ſuch a diſtance, that neither of them did believe themſelves at all a-kin; he was then thus fortunately inſtituted Heir to a very great eſtate, by which means the way to *Grandeur* being made eaſie to him, he found no difficulty in obtaining in marriage the neece of Cardinal *Pamphilio*, who being immediatly after choſen Pope, the Prince *Giuſtiniani* ſaw himſelf of a ſudden become a part of the *Roman* Nipotiſmo, enjoying thoſe honours and prerogatives which the *Romans* do uſe to obſerve towards perſons of that quality.

But the Pope had no real kindneſs for him, and having given him ſome profitable offices, refuſed to introduce him into the management of buſineſs, but left him to play the good husband in his own eſtate. And indeed employments of another nature had been loſt upon him, for beſides that he had alwayes retain'd ſomething of his meanneſs

meanneſs when he was poor; there was nothing laudable in him but a natural bounty; and the *Pope* being well inform'd, did abſtain from uſing his ſervice in any thing of importance.

The other ſiſter was married to *Don Nicolo Ludoviſio*, Prince of *Piombino*, Nephew of *Gregory* the Fifteenth, and brother to that Cardinal *Ludoviſio*, who in *Gregory*'s time govern'd all things. This prince had enclin'd to this match, out of an opinion of making great advantages by it, as ſeeing at that time that Cardinal *Camillo* was made Cardinal, and altogether unfit for buſineſs, ſo that he flattered himſelf with an opinion of being the only Nephew, and governing the *Pope* and Church.

But when it came to the puſh, he found he had miſreckoned; for *Donna Olympia*, his mother in law, diſappointed all his ambition by hers, not being diſpos'd to ſuffer that any body ſhould rule but her ſelf: So that the Prince was reduced to a meer complacence and obedience to her commands. Neither was it to any purpoſe that ſometimes he would complain of the difficulties he found to be admitted to the *Popes* audience, and receive thoſe marks of kindneſs which ſeem'd due to ſo neer a relation, for *Donna Olympia* anſwer'd him in a haughty manner, That *it was honour enough for him that he had been preferr'd to marry her Daughter before ſo many competitors of as great a quality as himſelf.* Whereupon the Prince being unwilling to come to a rupture with one who had ſo great an influence upon the *Pope*, would hold his tongue and be quiet.

Yet from time to time he was forced amongst his private friends, to give a vent to his grief by telling them, That the *Pope*s Alliance had brought him into the disgrace of the *French*; whereupon his principality of *Piombino* was by them made a Theater of their fury, for not being able to do the *Pope* mischief openly, as they would have wished, they did content their spight in ruining a place belonging to so neer a relation as he was to the *Pope*. So that the loss and dammage he receiv'd, by being thus allyed was certain; whereas the advantages were uncertain aad inconsiderable, consisting only in some incomes from his place of General of the Galleys, and some such offices which he little esteemed.

But when *Donna Olympia* fell once from that heighth of favour, then this *Prince* being very sure, that the *Pope* could not subsist without some body to help him in so great a charge; and knowing himself to be in as neer a degree as any body, and as fit for the employment, began to conceive hopes of being called to Court, and admitted to the management of busines.

And here again, The poor *Prince* was deceived; for *Innocent* had all along conceived such an ill opinion, and received from *Donna Olympia* such disadvantagious impressions of him, that he would never see him, but when he had a mind to be merry, making the *Prince* serve as a Buffoon to his diversion, and never so much as mentioning any serious matter in his presence.

For all this the *Pope*s relations were fully perswaded, That the *Pope* must of necessity bestow

the Title of Nephew upon ſome body; and ſeeing that among his kindred none would pleaſe him, they went inſinuating ſometimes one, ſometimes another into the Popes affections. *Innocent* of his ſide was in perpetual conferences with Cardinal *Panticollo* about the ſame buſineſs, ſo that every hour of the day they were examining the good qualities of one or other to chooſe the moſt deſerving.

In this ſcarcity of ſubjects fit for the employment, the *Prince Ludoviſio* thought, that the honour might fall upon the perſon of Cardinal *Albergati*, who went by the name of *Ludoviſio*, but he ſoon found an excluſion in the Popes mind, as being ignorant and uncapable of ſuch a place.

The Jeſuite *Fabio Albergati*, brother to the ſaid Cardinal, was the fitter man, as being endowed with learning, experience, and great wiſdome in the managing of buſineſs; but the Pope declar'd, That he would not make two brothers of the ſame family Cardinals.

So that at laſt, of all thoſe that had been brought upon the Stage, there remained none but he that Cardinal *Panzirolo* brought on, who was a prodigious off-ſpring of Fortune, and the wonder of Chriſtendome, which was aſtonish'd to ſee a Pope ſo averſe from his relations as to declare a ſuppoſed Nephew for Cardinal, and Padrone: but before we engage in the particularities of this ſingular event, we will ſay ſomething to inſtruct the Reader about it.

There

There never was acted upon the Theater of the Court of *Rome* ſo unexpected and ſtrange a Scene, which therefore deſerves to be reckoned amongſt the prodigious effects of Fortune; for the Pope having no conſanguinity with him, and he being without deſerts, experience, or any remarkable quality that might make him conſpicuous, nay, being ſcarce known, or at leaſt not familiarly to the Pope; he was nevertheleſs of a ſudden exalted and promoted to the degree of Cardinal, Nephew, and Padrone, as if he had been the head of the *Pamphilian* Family: And to deſerve all this, there was no quality but that, being born of a Noble Family, which nevertheleſs at that time was ſo far indebted and decayed, that he was not to expect any aſſiſtance in his fortune from them.

His name, not to hold the *Lector* any longer in ſuſpenſe, was *Camillo Aſtalli*, a young Gentleman of about ſeven and twenty years old, of a comely aſpect, and a handſome winning carriage, though guilty ſometimes of too many complements, and in a word accompliſh'd, as they ordinarily are, whoſe higheſt ambition carries them no further in *Rome* then ſome Office or Prelature.

And that which moſt ſurprized the Court, was to ſee one exalted thus, under pretence of ſerving and helping the Pope in the adminiſtration of State Affairs; one who was an abſolute novice to all negotiations and policy, by reaſon of the few occaſions he had had to learn any thing of that nature.

But the occasion of his coming to court and making himself known, was, the alliance which the Marquess his brother had contracted with a Neece of *Donna Olympia's*, for she being ambitious had alwayes embrac'd the occasions of marrying her relations into noble families, as having a design to honour, by such props, her own family of *Maldachini*, to whom that flower of nobility was denyed, which was an affliction to a Popes sister in Law, and a sister in Law that govern'd with an absolute authority.

As it fell out, it was very fortunate for the house of *Astalli*, that they were allyed with her; because that they wanted riches to maintain their gentility the more, since they had at the invitation of *Donna Olympia* bought the place of Clerk of the Apostolick chamber, which office had absorb'd the greatest part of their Patrimony; so that, if by chance the possessor of it did fail to make a fortune, or did dye suddenly, the whole family did run the hazard of being begger'd for ever.

But all fell out luckily; for *Astalli*, having by meanes of his office and alliance got an entrance into the Court, addicted himself particularly to worship and court Cardinal *Panzirollo*, the Secretary of State, who had a great Empire over the Pope: and that which was most fortunate, was, that this Cardinal answer'd the young mans affection with the like on his side, being gained by his obsequious carriage; at which all the Court was much surprized, considering that Cardinal *Panzirollo* had allwayes discovered an inveterate hatred against any one that was in favour with *Innocent*.

Here

Here the contrary fell out, for *Panzirollo* made it his task, to insinuate this young Gentleman into the Popes affections, which at last he did so far, that the Pope was infinitely pleased with his comely garb and handsome carriage; and when it came to be debated, whom he should choose to ease him of a part of those cares and fatigues which accompany the Popedom, seeing none of his own Relations qualified for the Employment, he followed *Panzirollo*'s directions, and preferr'd this young man before all the other pretendants; so without any more to do, he was created Cardinal, declared Nephew, proclaim'd *Padrone*, and had the name of *Pamphilio* given him, together with the key of the Popes Closet, to go out and in when he pleased.

As soon as this news was spread through *Rome*, the Politicians following the humor of the Town, began to discourse of what would follow, and endeavoured to penetrate the secret causes of the Popes aversion to his Kindred, that should move him thus to set up a counterfeit Nephew: In the mean time, the true *Nipotismo* were all met in *Donna Olympia*'s house, there to condole with one another, upon this affront and shame which had befallen them.

Donna Olympia, who above all was enraged at this so strange a mutation of government, and who doubted not, as it was true, but that Cardinal *Panzirollo* was the Author of it, went to him, and shewed her resentment in menaces and threats, with all the passion a woman was capable of. The Cardinal being satisfied, that he had obtained

obtained his desire, was not much moved at her reproaches, and those of her kindred, but answering her with his ordinary gravity and flegm, told her, *That things did not, as she might think, depend upon his councels, but upon the Popes inclinations, who lov'd to do what he pleased, and nothing else.*

All this while *Rome* was in a perpetual vicissitude of tears and joy; of joy, to hear the new counterfeit *Nipotismo's* transports; of grief and sorrow, to hear the complaints of the old and real *Nipotismo.*

Ambassadours came laughing and merry from one Visit, to go sad and full of tears to another. The Priests, adherents to the old *Nipotismo*, said Mass, and implored patience from Heaven for them in their sufferings; and the flatterers of the new, offered thanksgivings, and prayed for help from Heaven for the continuation of its power: while the new and false *Nipotismo* went triumphant through *Rome*, and received the respects of every one, the true and real one was fain to sculk and lye close in the shadow of its afflictions and disgrace.

The Railleries, the Pasquins, and the Discourses about this new way of enriching the Church with a *Nipotismo*, were infinite, there being no body that could imagine, from what Wits could spring so many different Conceits, bad and good, as were publish'd upon this new subject.

The Cardinal *Sforza*, who had alwayes assum'd to himself the liberty of saying any thing; as soon

ſoon as he heard the news of this reſolution of the Popes, was the firſt that began to make *Paſquins*, for the next day, in preſence of four of the cheefeſt Cardinals of the Colledge, he ſaid theſe very words, *Now that the Pope* Innocent *hath introduced the cuſtome of making falſe Nephews, the other Popes will never fail of Nephews, for they will make whole Regiments of them, and fill with ſuch a generation our Colledge of Cardinals.*

But the words of a certain Prelate of *Parma* were more ſharp and biting, which were theſe, *I foreſee*, ſaid he, *that one day the Popes will throw Dice for their* Nipotiſmo, *and take what comes uppermoſt, and ſo the affairs of the Church will be manaſed at an adventure.*

Yet for all this, the new Nephew had all the intereſt of the Church and State put into his hands, though with ſome limitation, for the Pope communicated all things to him, and particularly matters of State; not ſo much to lay the weight of them upon him, as to inſtruct him how he ſhould mannage them, for he durſt not yet truſt to his ſmall experience, for fear of being deceiv'd. Thus *Aſtalli* had properly nothing but the name and honour of Cardinal *Padrone*, ſubſcribing to all the Nuntioes, Legates and Governours Commiſſions, and receiving Embaſſadours, when the Pope was indiſpoſed, though ſtill with the obligation of reporting every thing to his Holineſs.

As long as Cardinal *Panzirollo* liv'd, *Aſtalli*'s fortune was proſperous and good, becauſe that the Popes kindred durſt not by any means go about to ſupplant him, though they hated him perfectly,

knowing

knowing that the Cardinals perſwaſions would ſtill prevail with their Uncle more then their credit; whereupon they diſſembled their deſign, and, according to the cuſtom of *Rome*, ſeem'd to rejoyce for that thing which they moſt abhorr'd.

But no ſooner had Cardinal *Panzirollo* yeilded up his laſt breath, but *Aſtalli* began to perceive the decay of his fortune, and to miſtruſt that which afterwards befell him; for no ſooner had this Cardinal ſhut his eyes, but the Popes kindred went about to undo him, and eaſily compaſs'd their intention, the Pope beginning to revive that affection, which he had formerly born to his Sifter in law. One morning then, as the Cardinal *Padrone* was riſing out of his bed, he receiv'd a Meſſage from the Pope, whereof the bearer told him, *That by his Holineſſes Order he was baniſhed from* Rome, *and forbidden the Popes preſence for ever; that he ſhould lay aſide the title of Cardinal* Padrone, *and renounce the name of Nephew as well as that of* Pamphilio. And in a word, not only all his Revenue was ſeiſed on, but he could not get leave to tranſport any thing of his houſhold-ſtuffe or moveables. So that the poor Cardinal was fain to forſake *Rome*, ſeeing that all wayes to juſtifie himſelf were ſhut up, and all the favour he could obtain was, that he might depart in the night, to avoid the deriſion and mocking of the people.

The motive of this ſo ſevere a ſentence, with which *Aſtalli* was treated, as if he had been guilty of high Treaſon, was this; The *Barbarines* having

ving been recall'd and reconcil'd to the Pope, were now great with him, and at their perſwaſion, *Innocent* had begun to think of taking the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Spaniard*; upon which ſubject there were often Conferences held between him, the *Barbarines*, and his Kindred, excluding ſtill from their Counſels the Cardinal *Aſtalli*; who thereby perceiving, that the Popes kindneſs for him did begin to abate, thought it would be prudently done, to provide in time ſome other protection, that ſo his fall might be leſs, and he might have ſomething to hang by, which might hinder him from falling to the bottom of that precipice, which was digging for him.

Having therefore penetrated into theſe ſecret deſigns of the Pope, he gave the *Spaniards* notice of them cloſely, and the advice came no ſooner to the Catholick Kings ears, but he immediately gave ſuch Orders in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as quite diſappointed the *Barbarines* plot, by ſhutting that door, which was to give an entrance to the execution of their deſign.

Azzolini, a Confident and Spy of *Donna Olympia*'s, took upon him to diſcover who it was that had betrayed them, and after an exact ſearch found, that it could be no body but *Aſtalli*; whereupon the Pope baniſh'd him, and made *Azzolini* Cardinal for his recompence.

This ſudden fall of the falſe Nephew opened all the mouthes in *Rome*, who did not know of the reaſon of it, to exclaim againſt the Popes inconſtancy: but no ſooner was the *Nipotiſmo* down,

down, but that *Donna Olympia* raiſed her ſelf upon its ruines; for the Pope a weary of being alone, call'd his Siſter in Law once more to him, and gave her back again all her former power, and more, if more could be, the true *Nipotiſmo* remaining neglected, and deſpiſed in all theſe changes; for except ſome Offices and Places which they got, they were little more advanced in the Popes favour; and in thoſe places, they had, it is true, a liberty of getting money by all Arts, but ſtill with the condition of dependance upon *Donna Olympia.*

The avidity of the *Barbarines* was but a ſhadow of what this Lady perform'd in reallity; for under her government, Cardinalſhips, Biſhopricks, Abbies, Canonicates, and generally, all Church revenues were ſold, as in a Market, to him that bid moſt: She little cared how full the Town was of murmurs, if her purſe were full of Gold; and that which was moſt intollerable was, that not only the meritorious and deſerving people were neglected, but baniſhed from *Rome.*

There was no more talk then of the Pope, all the diſcourſe was of *Donna Olympia*, many taking occaſion to ſay, *That it were fit likewiſe to introduce the women to the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, ſince that* Donna Olympia *was Pope.*

At laſt it pleaſed Almighty God to deliver the Church from ſo great a ſcandal, and ſo unheard of one before this age, which gave ſo fair an occaſion to the Hereticks of inveighing againſt the

the Church of *Rome*, with a great deal of reaſon.

Innocent dyed in the year 1655. having reigned ten years, four months, and ſome dayes; ſo that then the Siſter in law, and the *Nipotiſmo*, were fain to leave the *Vatican* to the Pope that ſhould be choſen, who was *Alexander* the ſeventh, who now lives and rules the Church.

The Cardinals thought of little leſs then of making *Alexander* Pope, who went by the name of *Fabio Chigi* of *Siena*, not that he was deſtitute of thoſe qualities which make a Cardinal worthy of that Elevation, but becauſe that he was newly made Cardinal, and too young to be a Competitour for ſuch a place; with all this, after three moneths time employed in the Conclave, he was at laſt choſen, when he thought leaſt of it.

As ſoon as the news was ſpread in the Town, people began to diſcourſe about the new *Nipotiſmo*, which was to govern the City, the State, and the Church; and there many began to reckon up ſuch a number of kindred, that they affirm'd, there would not be room for them in *Rome* it ſelf, much leſs was the Popedom ſufficient to enrich ſuch a company of hungry Relations, and raiſe a Family, which, though of antient Nobility, was nevertheleſs very poor.

The ambitious, and thoſe that deſir'd to be in favour with theſe new Maſters, rid poſt to *Siena*, not only to carry this happy news, but alſo to have the priviledge of offering their ſervice firſt.

Don

Don Mario, the Popes brother, as ſoon as he heard of his exaltation, immediately, without ſo much as putting on new clothes, as his Wife would have had him, cauſed a Horſe to be ſadled, and with two ſervants took his journey towards *Rome*; having firſt receiv'd from one and the other a number of ſubmiſſive complements, not without the title of Excellence.

He was thus going on, and making Caſtles in the Air; inſomuch that he did ſcarce ſee thoſe that came to meet him on his way, ſeeming a man in an extaſie, and a body without a ſoul, which without doubt was gone before to take poſſeſſion of his future greatneſs; when at ſome miles diſtance from *Siena*, he met a Gentleman, from the Pope, with Letters to him, in which his Holineſs did moſt ſtrictly command, that neither he, nor any of his Relations ſhould ſtir from *Siena* to go towards *Rome*, under pain of incurring their brothers indignation for ever.

At this news, the poor *Don Mario* was as if he had been thunder-ſtruck; ſo that if at firſt he ſeemed a body without a ſoul, it was almoſt true now, for all his blood retired to his heart, and left him pale, like a Ghoſt, though otherwiſe corpulent enough; he was in doubt whether he ſhould infringe theſe ſo ſevere commands, and continue on his way, or elſe obey and go home again; the firſt ſeemed dangerous, the ſecond ſhameful; but at laſt, after ſome reluctancy within himſelf, he reſolv'd to return by night to *Siena*, being aſham'd to enter the City by day.

Being come home, he communicated his Letter

to

to all the kindred; and though it seemed a very severe one to them, yet had they some little glimpse of hope in the ambiguous sense of these words; *Do not stir from* Siena, *in no wise, till you receive a new Order from us*: from this they took occasion, not to despair of their fortune, guessing, that this proceeding was not a defect of kindness in the Pope, but some new politick trick.

The Great Duke of *Florence*, in the mean time, forgot not to send a Gentleman to visit *Don Mario*, and to present him with such things, as he thought they might need in that occasion; and by his example, many Cardinals and Princes did the same thing; particularly, all the persons of quality of *Tuscany* failed not, every one of them, to wait upon the Family of the *Chigi*. 'Tis true, that the Popes Order carried, *that they should not change their way of living, nor receive visits as his Relations*; but that was too hard to be executed, since it was not in their power, to hinder those that had a mind to it, from doing them that honour.

The Republick of *Venice*, whose maxime it is to keep the Popes for friends (though they often have been so ungrateful, and so little sensible of the service that this State does to the Church and all *Christendom*, as to trouble its quiet) having receiv'd the news of the election, assembled the Senate, to deliberate of the demonstrations of joy, which they should shew to the Pope.

There it was resolved unanimously, *That the House of* Chigi *should be declared Noble of* Venice, *with all the Prerogatives that the Senate uses to bestow on such occasions*; which was done accordingly, and the Letters Patent were sent to the Pope and his kindred in *Siena*, with the usual formes, being followed immediately after by a solemn and stately Embassie.

Thus the Popes kindred did receive continually great honour in *Siena*, though it were some mortification to them, to see themselves depriv'd of that command and authority, which they thought did belong to them, *de jure*, as being a Popes Relations.

In the mean time, this neglect and denial, which the Pope seem'd to make of his dearest Kindred, got him such a reputation through the world, that nothing was more discoursed of, then of his holiness and purity of life; the vulgar did expect no less then miracles from him; and hearing say, that he had alwayes upon his table a dead mans Scull, and under his bed his Coffin, they could not choose, but be confirmed in the opinion of his holiness.

But the wiser sort, and the judicious, were not so easily deceiv'd; but reckoning, that it was either policy, or a particular melancholy, which had flown into the Popes head, but had not root in his heart, they alwayes said, *Let us see what the end will be.*

And

And indeed, after ſome time it was obſerved, that the *Pope* did as the Traveller, who being in a ſmall veſſel, which was ſurpriz'd by a terrible ſtorm at Sea, reſolv'd, that he might ſave his life, to throw all that he had into the Sea; having then tyed his baggage with a rope, he threw it over board, but ſtill kept in his hand, the end of the rope to which his baggage was tyed. Juſt thus did *Alexander*, for though it ſeemed to the eyes of the vulgar, that he had deſpiſed and thrown over board his Kindred, yet from time to time he would hold out his hand, and ſend them money, and all other things that were neceſſary, there paſſing never a day, but they had news from him, and he from them.

And once particularly (and this is a thing which I am an eye witneſs of; neither do I think, that *Don Mario* himſelf can deny it, if he will be ſincere) the *Pope* feigning to ſend them ſome Mules, loaden with Wax for certain Churches, ſent them indeed Mules loaden with money; which cheat was ſo great, that the Muletiers themſelves perceiv'd it, complaining of the extraordinary heavineſs of their burdens; and indeed, what ſhould they have done with ſo much Wax, for there would have been enough, if it had been really Wax, to have lighted the *French* Court a whole year.

Another time, he took an occaſion of ſending ſome Silver veſſels, and ſome Silk ſtuffs, to be employed in Ornaments for Churches, with order,

that they should be recommended to *Don Mario*, to dispose of them according to the *Popes* intention; but *Don Mario*, in opening the boxes, found above four *Purses* full of Gold, Gold all newly coin'd, with the Stamp of the *Popes*-head upon them.

The Embassadours of *Princes*, and the Cardinals, having perceiv'd, that all this apparent aversion to his Kindred, was but jugling and hypocrisie, made it their business, to induce him by prayers and entreaties to change his resolution; particularly, having observ'd, that the *Popes* design was, to be thus urged and pressed, that he might gain reputation in the world, and be furnished with an excuse, whensoever, at their request, he should introduce his banished Relations. And indeed, they had gain'd so much upon him, that he did begin to hearken to their reasons with a milder countenance, and less reluctancy: Yet there was one thing which hindred him from coming to the execution of this his design, which was the Oath he had taken before the Crucifix in the beginning of his Popedom, not to receive his Kindred in *Rome*; but the Jesuites, who were his Confessors, and who are as subtle Philosophers as learned Casuists, found out an evasion, which much pleased his Holiness; for it gave him leave to comfort his kindred, to yield to the Prayers and Sollicitations of Princes, and to ease himself of a part of the weight and cares of government.

They

They told him then, that indeed it would have been a breach of his Oath, to receive his kindred in *Rome*; but that he might, with a safe conscience, go and meet them half a dayes journey out of *Rome*, and so not at all endanger his soul: this was much liked, and put in execution by the Pope, though it seemed to the Court a ridiculous evation, which became the subject of their laughter and drollery for a great while.

The Pope being then at last resolved, Orders were dispatch'd to *Siena* to the *Nipotismo*, which was there assembled, in expectation of this news, as if they had waited for Manna from Heaven. So *Don Mario*, his Wife and Children, and *Don Agostino*, with a numerous attendance, left *Siena*, and took their journey towards *Castel Gandolfe*, a House of pleasure of the Popes, where they met his Holiness, who receiv'd them, and embraced them with the greatest demonstrations of affection and kindness that was possible; and after some short stay there, came back to *Rome* with them in triumph.

In the interim, it is worth the Readers curiosity, to be inform'd of an accident that befell *Padre Pallavicino*, the Popes Confessor, a Jesuite, in hopes of obtaining a Cardinals Cap, which at last he got, had undertaken to write the Story of the Councel of *Trent*; which indeed may justly be call'd his, for the greatest part of it is not history and relation, but an abundance of words, by which he endeavours to prove, that the history of

Fra. Paulo, upon the ſame ſubject, was and is falſe, but he ſtumbles at every ſtep he goes, and is ſo ill furniſh'd with Arguments, that for my part, I muſt confeſs, that I never believ'd *Fra. Paulo*'s Hiſtory to be real, ſincere and true, but ſince I read the Jeſuites: and he that will profit by them, let him read them both with an equal diſintereſſment.

Now in this Hiſtory, Father *Palavicino* had taken occaſion to praiſe the Pope *Alexander* in divers places, and extoll him to the Skyes, as an Angel rather then a man, for denying his own blood and relations, and keeping them at ſuch a diſtance from him.

The ſheets were printed, and the book was coming out, when the Pope went to receive his kindred at *Caſtle Gandolfe*, and had brought them to *Rome*: This caſt the Father into a ſtrange perplexity; and the rather, becauſe that the Pope, before he undertook his journey, had asked him his advice about the buſineſs, as being his Confeſſour; ſeeing himſelf in a ſtrange Labyrinth, he was mightily confounded; for if he councelled him to receive them, that was to give his book the lye; and if he exhorted him to continue in his firſt reſolution, that was the way to offend the Pope and his Kindred, and loſe all his own fortune.

At

At last he resolved:

Which he did, by counselling the *Pope* to receive his kindred, and by printing over again those sheets which made mention of the *Popes* alienation from all humane affections. But the *Printer* refused to do it at his expences; so that the good Father was fain to have recourse to some of his devout Children, who out of charity payed for the reprinting of about twenty sheets.

No sooner had this new *Nipotismo* taken possession of the *Vatican*, but the people began to murmur against the *Pope*, making *Pasquins*, and setting them up in every street. Thus he, who before was a Saint and an Angel, was now become an Hypocrite and a Devil; and the belief of the *Romans*, concerning the *Popes* infallibility, was much changed, from that which they had receiv'd before from the Divines; for now they believ'd at least, that if the *Pope* could not erre by himself, yet his Nephews could make him erre: The *Pope*, who was before ador'd by the common people, became now contemptible, insomuch, that going one day to consecrate the Church of the *Peace*, which had been rebuilt by him he receiv'd a vile affront; for the Curate of that Church, having rais'd a triumphal Arch before it, over which was the *Popes Picture*, with this Inscription, *Orietur in diebus nostris justitia & abundantia pacis*, some bold persons had the confidence to put an *M* before *orietur*, and change the *C* of *pacis* into an *N*; so that then there was, *Mo-*

pietur in diebus nostris justitia & abundantia ranis.

In the Academy of the Wits, they did recite and shew Epigrams, which were very offensive to the *Popes* and his Families reputation, though all were allegorically veil'd over: In a word, they were counted the most ingenious, who could invent the sharpest sayings upon the introduction of the *Nipotismo*.

But before we go any further, it will not be amiss, to see in what persons, and how qualified, the *Nipotismo* did consist: And I consider it in two wayes, that which is nearest in consanguinity, and another, which is related at a greater distance, and we will omit the women, that we may not be mistaken by so great a number as there would be with them.

Six Males from that *Nipotismo*, which is of a very near consanguinity to the *Pope*, that is, speaking of those that have at this present part in the government of *Rome*, and omitting the little children.

These are then first, *Don Mario*, the *Popes* elder brother; the Cardinal *Flavio Chigi*, who is *Don Mario's* Son; *Don Agostino*, and *Don Sigismondo*, who are Brothers, and Sons of another of the *Popes* Brothers, who dyed before *Alexander's* exaltation to the *Popedom*; and two other Brothers, who are Sons to one of the *Popes* Sisters, that

that was married in the Family of the *Bichi*; ſo that in all, there are one Brother, and five Nephews, which make a pretty compleat *Nipotiſmo*.

Don Mario is five years older then the Pope, and though by conſequence he be threeſcore and ten, yet he is ſtrong and luſty. The Pope and he are very different in their conſtitution, humour, and actions; for the firſt is tall, the other low; the Pope is inclin'd to learning, *Don Mario* is ſtrangely ignorant; the Pope is lean, and *Don Mario* is fat; the Pope is noble and generous, and *Don Mario* is covetous and miſerable, thinking of nothing, but of gathering and heaping together of money, little troubling himſelf at the peoples murmurings; and yet they cry out more againſt him, then ever they did againſt *Don Tadeo*, nay, more then they did againſt *Donna Olympia* her ſelf; he hath invented ſo many new ſubtleties to get money out of thoſe Offices which are ordinarily beſtowed upon the Popes neareſt Relations, that the *Barbarines*, who thought theinſelves maſters in that Craft, do remain aſtoniſh'd to ſee themſelves outdone by a new beginner.

The Pope ſhewes him the reſpect due to an elder Brother, and that is all; 'tis true, that of late he hath afforded him more liberty, and a greater ſhare in the Government then he was wont to have, and he uſes it to his advantage, miſſing no occaſion to improve his fortune; nay, he is

ſo

ſo paſſionately bent to getting, that he ordinarily uſes to ſay of a thing he does not like, *There is nothing to be got there.*

The good opinion which the Pope hath of his integrity, is the poiſon which corrupts all the preſent Government; for being prepoſſeſs'd to his advantage, he lets him do any thing, ſo he do but maintain plenty of Corn and Meat in *Rome*, and keep the people from murmuring; but things do not go well, nor with any honour to the Pope, for if *Don Mario* was honeſt and ſincere in *Siena*, he no ſooner came to *Rome*, but he chang'd his nature, and made it his buſineſs to grow rich by any means whatſoever; though the people ſend their cryes up to Heaven againſt him, they come not to the Popes eares, who all this while thinks, that *Don Mario* of *Rome* is *Don Mario* of *Siena*, and there's the miſcheif.

The Cardinal *Flavio Chigi* his Son deſerves neither to be praiſed, nor blamed for any thing that regards the Government of the Church, in which he is little concern'd; for having the Title of *Padrone*, or *Maſter*, he exerciſes his maſterſhip in taking his pleaſure, avoiding with all poſſible means to have any hand in buſineſs, leaſt he ſhould perplex his mind, and be diverted from the taſte of ſenſual delights, to which he hath given himſelf up.

In his Uncles laſt fit of ſickneſs, that he might not be liable to the imputation of ignorance or incapa-

incapacity, he beſtirr'd himſelf pretty well, and perform'd the duties belonging to ſo important a place as his is. His aſſiduity and care appeared much, and the Embaſſadours, and people of buſineſs were pretty well ſatisfyed with the good-will he ſhewed, being the apter to bear with the ſmallneſs of his ſufficiency.

But as ſoon as his Uncle was upon his feet again, the Nephew began to withdraw his neck from the yoke, and not only gave over giving of audience, but feigned himſelf ſick, that no body might trouble him. 'Tis true, that he was really ſo ſometimes out of debauchery, and is forced to keep his bed in good earneſt. The Phyſicians then do never acquaint the Pope with the true cauſe of his indiſpoſition, though often queſtion'd upon it, becauſe they are afraid of irritating him againſt his Nephew; who on his ſide gives them large preſents to oblige them to ſecreſie.

He doth not much care to gather riches and treaſure, for three reaſons. The firſt is, becauſe his Father is already too much enclin'd that way. The ſecond, becauſe he hath no deſire to leave any thing to his Cozen *Don Agoſtino*. And the third, becauſe he hath no Nephewes to provide for, that branch of his family ending in him. So that he is content with the revenue of his place, which is above 200000 Crowns a year, which he ſpends nobly amongſt his Comerades and Miſtreſſes; it being a common report, that he hath already half a dozen Baſtards by divers Courtiſans; but for

for my part I believe they belie him, and lay their children to his charge, as being the ableſt to keep them. He would without doubt enjoy his health better then he does if he were temperate, for he is not above five and thirty years old, of a Sanguine temper, with a good mixture of Melancholy, the colour of his beard and haire being the ſame with his Uncles.

In his Legation in *France* he got reputation, ſhewing himſelf noble and ſplendid, as alſo liberal on divers occaſions; and certainly he would have been prodigal in his preſents, if thoſe Prelates that were with him had not counſel'd him to the contrary; ſo that he indeed lived after the *French* faſhion, but his dependants after the *Italian*, that is, ſparingly.

Don Agoſtino, Son to *Auguſto Chigi*, and *Don Sigiſmond*, his Brother, are much in the Popes favour, and he hath for him much more real love, then for *Don Mario*, or the Cardinal *Flavio* his Son.

Of *Don Sigiſmond* there is little to be ſaid, only that the Pope doth every day beſtow upon him ſome conſiderable benefice, waiting only till he be of age to make him Cardinal, being now in the year 1667 but 17 years old, which keeps the Pope from admitting him to that honour, though it is thought, that in the firſt promotion he will not fail to be created Cardinal, and indeed with a great deal more reaſon then Cardinal *Maldachini*, who was promoted for *Donna Olympia's* ſake, at

18 years

18 years old, though much more unworthy of it then *Don Sigiſmondo*. 'Tis thought, that if the Pope ſhould dye before he were made Cardinal, his inclinations would rather encline him to marriage then to a Batchelors life. But I am not of that opinion, for *Don Agoſtino* his Brother hath prevented him in that, by giving, and procuring for him no other but Church Revenues; as Abbyes, and other Benefices, of which, if he ſhould go to marry, he muſt be deveſted, and then he would be ſo poor that he would not meet with a match ſuitable to his quality.

As for *Don Agoſtino*, Fortune ſeems to have eſpouſed his intereſt; for from his firſt coming to *Rome* till this preſent time, all things have ſucceeded very Proſperouſly, and much to his ſatisfaction, having met with a match according to his deſire, and a principality, which was his hearts wiſh; ſo he hath nothing left to long for.

This abundance of content hath ſo taken poſſeſſion of his Soul, that it hath quite blotted out the remembrance of his former poor condition, inſomuch that being puff'd up with pride and inſolence, he ſcornes to take notice of the civilities that the Gentlemen of *Rome* offer him when he goes through the ſtreets; whereupon he hath contracted the Names of haughty and arrogant, and with them the hatred of almoſt all the *Romans*.

He

He never had any inclination to learning; but he hath a good natural disposition for all those exercises which become a Gentleman, and in which he behaves himself very handsomly; he is about 30 years of Age, of a jovial disposition, loving company and mirth, and little troubling himself to purchase riches and treasure, being sure that there are enough to do it for him.

And indeed *Don Mario*, and the rest of the kindred, think of getting what they can every one for themselves; but the Pope takes no care, but for *Don Agostino*, whose purse he has resolv'd to fill as full as he can; and we may conjecture of the Popes tender affection for *Don Agostino* by three things which he hath done for him since his coming to *Rome*.

The first was, that the Nipotismo had no sooner taken possession of the Vatican, but it pretended to give Lawes, not only to *Rome*, but to the Pope himself, and that in the dispensation of his favours to: and thus it was.

Don Mario, the Popes elder brother, being the head of the Family, did pretend, that one being to marry to preserve the Family, it did belong to his Son *Flavio*, and the rather, because his inclination did lead him that way; but the Pope, who had a great affection for the memory of his brother *Augusto*, refused to condescend to *Don Mario's* desire, but declared *Flavio* Cardinal *Padrone*, and resolved to marry *Don Agostino*, little

tle troubling himself at his elder brothers grumbling.

From hence sprung some dissention, which from day to day encreases between the Family of *Don Agostino*, and that of *Don Mario*, to the Popes great discontent, who to sweeten a little the bitterness of this Pill, gave *Don Mario* leave to call his Daughters, and their husbands to *Rome*; where he desir'd they should be respected as his Relations, and he accorded to *Don Agostino*, that his brother *Sigismond* might also be sent for, to whom he gave good Church Revenues. This seem'd to have pleased them all, and exteriourly they shewed content and satisfaction, but secretly, and in their hearts, they do like right *Italians*, that is, preserve the memory of their injuries, and a desire to be reveng'd. And to begin; The Cardinal *Flavio* little cares to get riches; and if he do get, he spends it most prodigally, being resolved to leave *Don Agostino* as little as he can.

This dissipation which the Cardinal makes of his revenue, cannot choose but displease *Don Agostino*, seeing that it is not so much the Cardinals inclinations, as a desire to offend him that causes this prodigality; whereupon he infers likewise, that that vast heap of treasure which *Don Mario* hath got together, will not be for him, but for his Daughters, who are married into others Families; and I believe in this he is not mistaken, for *Don Mario*'s affection to his Daughters is very great.

The

The Pope in the mean time can ſcarce ſhow any kindneſs to any one of them; but it is preſently taken ill by the others. *Doth my Cozen*, ſayes *Don Agoſtino*, *think it ſo inconſiderable a thing to be Cardinal* Padrone, *and mannage all State affairs; to have the diſpoſal of all favours at Court, to treat with Embaſſadours, to have the keyes of the Popes Cloſet, to govern the Chancery and Secretary at his pleaſure? What can he deſire more then to be a ſecond Pope!*

But the Cardinal anſwers all this by ſaying, that the care of buſineſs, and the Title of *Padrone* are not things given him out of a deſign to honour him, for they are his perpetual torment, and keep him from reſt in the day time, and ſleep in the night. *But doth my Cozen*, ſayes the Cardinal, *think it little to have been made Prince of a Principality hereditary to his Family, to have married a lovely Princeſs, with the enjoyment of all pleaſures, the applauſe of the Court, and the liberty of living as he pleaſes? are theſe things to be compared to the weight of a Cardinals employment, in whoſe death all dyes with him, and hath not the ſatisfaction to ſee himſelf re-produced in this world?*

In theſe duels of competition is the preſent Nipotiſmo perpetually engaged; depriving themſelves of the enjoyment of that happineſs which their good fortune hathſo liberally beſtowed upon them. 'Tis true, that theſe complaints are made but to their neereſt friends and confidents.

Don

Don Agoſtino, to ſay true, is much more in the right, then the Cardinal, the Pope being much more oblig'd to advance him then any of them; for he is Son to that *Auguſto*, brother of the Pope, who maintain'd the Pope at his expenſes in the Univerſity, ſupplying him afterwards with good ſummes of mony from time to time, without which he had undoubtedly been ſtopt in his courſe, and never been able to arrive to that pitch of Grandeur he is now in: Therefore *Don Mario* is unjuſt, and *Don Agoſtino* very juſt in his complaints; for the kindneſs which the Pope receiv'd from his Father, can expect no leſs then a Noble retribution to the Son, whereas all that the Pope doth for *Don Mario* and his Son, 'tis out of pure favour, without any deſert.

Theſe jealouſies, however they may be prejudicial to the Popes Family, yet are they very advantagious to the Church; for if they were all agreed, woe would be to *Rome*, and the Church: ſuch would be ſucked by them all, like ſo many Bees; but being divided, they ſtand in fear of one another, and dare not do unbeſeeming actions: for while *Don Mario* would have all to himſelf, and leave nothing for his Nephew, and that on the other ſide, the Nephew would have all for himſelf, and deprive his Uncle and Cozen of their ſhare, they hinder one another, and *Rome* and the Church fare the better for it.

The ſecond demonſtration of ſingular affection which the Pope bears to *Don Agoſtino*, is his Mar-

riage: for as soon as he saw him, he liked him so well, that he resolv'd to match with the greatest fortune of *Rome*, which was then the Princess *Borgheſe*, daughter to the Princess of *Roſſano*, very rich, and having but one sickly brother, and therefore looked upon as an heiress; but however, her portion was two hundred thousand crowns in mony, besides the hereditary estate, which was in her brothers hands.

This match did not at first succeed with that easiness that was imagin'd, though the Pope employed in the compassing of it, the Jesuites Rhetorick; for the Prince Uncle, to the young Lady, had a greater inclination for the Son of the Great Constable *Colonna*, an accomplish'd young Gentleman, and already much in the Ladies favour. Therefore to avoid the match, he pretended, that indeed he did take it as a great honour to have his Neece so allyed to his Holiness, but did desire to see *Don Agoſtino* better provided for, and in possession of some eminent rank in the world, that his neece might still maintain the degree of Princess she had already. Upon this the Pope did every day straine himself to make his Nephew appear greater and greater, giving places of great profit and honour, and endeavouring to buy him a Principality, which at last he effected; and though it were some disgust to him to see the Prince stand thus upon his termes, and make no other account of the honour of his Alliance; yet seeing that there was not in *Rome* such another match to be found out, he did continually keep some

Irons

Irons in the fire. Above all others, Father *Palavicinio* a Jeſuite did beſtir himſelf in it, and as he was one day preſſing the Prince, who told him, that *Don Agoſtino* was not yet ſufficiently provided for; he anſwer'd, *If the Pope ſhould dye to day* Don Agoſtino *would have ready money enough, to buy ten Principalities.*

While things were thus treating, the Prince *Borgheſe*, Tutour to the young Lady, died ſuddenly, ſo that ſhe fell into the Tutelage of the Princeſs her Grandmother, a Lady of incomparable *Piety*, and one who ſhames by her good life, even the Nuns themſelves, ſhe does ſo much outdoe them.

The *Princeſs of Roſſano* is her Daughter, and Mother to the young Lady, and the to get the Popes favour, and have ſome part in the *Vatican*, which ſhe hath alwayes been ambitious of, accepted the Propoſitions, and contributed much to the Concluſion of the Match, which was almoſt broke off, in which *Don Agoſtino* hath a great deal of reaſon to be happy, having a lovely, handſome Lady, with two hundred thouſand Crowns to her portion.

The Pope was tranſported with joy; and being naturally very generous, he reſolv'd that the wedding ſhould be kept with all the magnificence imaginable, having aſſigned to *Don Agoſtino* a hundred thouſand Crowns for the expences of it, which he accordingly layed out moſt nobly.

Beſides this ſumme which was ſpent in Bals, Feaſtings, and Banquets, he preſented the Bride with Diamonds, Pearls, and the Roſe, which every year is given to ſome Princeſs to the value of 20000 Crowns, and yet in this very time the Catholick Religion was much endanger'd in *Germany*.

Don Agoſtino after his wedding was over beame ſo arrogant, that not being able to contain his paſſion, he was heard to ſay theſe words, *That he had a greater joy to have got the better of his Rival* Colonna, *then to have obtain'd ſo great a Princeſs for Wife*: which coming to the *Colonneſſes* Ears, the Conſtable the Father made anſwer, That *his Son had reaſon to have deſir'd the Princeſs, becauſe he had merit enough to obtain her; but that* Don Agoſtino *was beholding to his Uncles authority, without which he had never had her.*

And indeed the young *Colonna* loſt nothing by ſtaying; three or four year after he married Cardinal *Mazarines* Neece, the Princeſs *Maria Mancini*, a moſt accompliſh'd Lady, and one who brought him above a hundred thouſand Crowns to her portion.

As for the third demonſtration of the Popes love to *Don Agoſtino*, it appear'd in the great ardour and deſire he ſhowed to make him a Prince; 'tis true, that the articles of Marriage carried, that out of the Ladies portion there ſhould be bought

a Principality, as if *Don Agoſtino* had not ſo much deſerv'd the Princeſs as the Popes Nephew, as in the conſideration of his being a Prince which was a little infamous to the Pope.

And yet for all this the Pope would not ſuffer that the Principality ſhould be bought out of the Princeſſe's portion, but with a new generoſity gave to *Don Agoſtino* ſeventy thouſand Crowns, with which he bought the Principality of *Farneze*, in the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, and was declared Prince, not only by the Pope, but by the Emperour, the ſaid Principality being a feef of the Empire.

To theſe three effects of kindneſs adde the deſire that the Pope hath to gather riches for *Don Agoſtino*, for whom he knowes that none of the reſt will provide, and certainly you will conclude him to be a very loving Uncle.

The other two Nephews are, as I have ſaid, Sons to one of the Popes ſiſters, married in the Family of *Bichi*; one of whom is Cardinal and Biſhop of *Oſimo*; and the other Knight of *Malta*, and General of the Popes Gallies.

The Cardinal at his firſt coming to *Rome* was not very acceptable to the Pope; as well becauſe he thought he had done enough in promoting him to the dignity of Cardinal, as, becauſe he wanted capacity for any high employment. 'Tis true, that he had not been long at Court, but he began

to lay aſide a certain ſimplicity, which ſeemed natural to him, and with which he govern'd very well his Biſhoprick, and endeavour'd to learn the Arts of Government and Negotiation, whereupon his Cozen *Floro* gave a good Character of him to the Pope, not out of any deſign to oblige him, but out of a lazy principle which made him glad to find out any body upon whom he might lay a part of his burden; and this recommendation was not without good effects for Cardinal *Bichi*, for ſince that time the Pope hath admitted him into divers particular Congregations, and does make uſe of him in ſome occurrences, but very ſeldome the ſaid Cardinal, being not in truth a man of any great wiſdome.

The other Brother, who is Prior of his Order, and General of the Popes Galleys, ſeems to be more favourably looked upon for the Pope; often calls him to him, and grants him many more favours then to the other.

This Gentleman hath got a great reputation in the World of a very ingenious perſon, and well verſed in all Sciences; but for my part I could never find out the root, whence did ſpring ſo much deſert, for he never did any thing in the world worthy an applauſe: he hath been ſent above four times with his Galleys to the help of the *Venetians* in *Candia*, where he never did any thing like a Knight of *Malta*; for he was alwayes afraid of fighting, even when he was cover'd by the *Venetian* Galleys, who alwayes were the firſt that

engaged

engaged their lives and honour.

And all this proceeded, becauſe he did not truſt his people that he had aboard; and he did not truſt them, becauſe he knew they had reaſon to hate him, as having defrauded them of their pay; for he did appropriate to himſelf moſt of that mony which the Pope allowed for the entertaining of his Soldiers and Stewes, who never were worſe provided for then under this Noble Gentlemans command.

But I think that it is the complements which the prior *Bichi* makes to every body that deceives them, and they are ſo taken with his Civility as naturally the *Romans* are, that they in revenge give him thoſe qualities which he is far from poſſeſſing.

His intention is to be Cardinal, whereupon every time he goes to ſee his brother he puts on his Brothers red Hat, and tryes it, to ſee how it ſits upon his head. But I am afraid he will looſe his longing; for the Nipotiſmo of the *Chigi* are much againſt it; and the *Pope* himſelf hath declar'd that he will not make two Brothers Cardinals at the ſame time. Withall this the *Prior* Courts his Cozens with the profoundeſt reſpect, and the greateſt ſubmiſſion that the loweſt Courtier in *Rome* would employ, and all to no purpoſe; for they all ſee that he aimes at the red Cap, which they are reſolv'd to hinder him from attaining. And the reaſon why they are ſo averſe to his promotion is, becauſe they know him to be hu-

morous, and apt to ſow diſcord and diſſention amongſt them, which I believe he would go neer to do, it he had the liberty of talking, which a Cardinal hath.

Now if we will ſay ſomething of the Women, who alſo ſerve to make up the Nipotiſmo, we muſt begin with the Lady *Berenice Don Mario's* Wife.

This Lady is of the Noble Family of *La Civia*, one of the conſiderableſt of the City of *Siena*, but ill provided for by Fortune. Her husband loves her, and indeed ſhe hath qualities that do deſerve his love, being very witty, and civil; ſhe had not been two year in *Rome*, but ſhe was miſtreſs of all the Court Arts, and way of living, to the great ſatisfaction of Embaſſadors, and Princes; who according to the cuſtome of the Court go to wait upon her ſometimes, where they are not a little ſurpriz'd to hear her diſcourſe ſo well and eaſily of things which they only which have been bred all their life amongſt Queens and Princeſſes can talk of; and they are the more pleaſed, becauſe ſhe does ſhew amidſt all this capacity a great deal of modeſty, which gaines the affection and reſpect of thoſe that have occaſion to treat with her.

Don Mario her Husband is above eighteen years elder then ſhe, who is not above three and fifty, and is ſo freſh at that age, that one would ſcarce give her forty, ſhe being ſubject to no infirmity at all. At her firſt coming to *Rome*, the

the Pope declar'd, that he would ſee her very ſeldome, giving her leave to demand any favour by her Husbands means, but nothing by word of mouth; and he did this to ſhow, what a horrour he had for that impudence, with which *Donna Olympia* uſed the Pope *Innocent*, to his great diſhonour, and is thought, that one of the great reaſons, that made this Pope keep his Kindred at ſuch a diſtance for a great while, was, becauſe he was afraid of bringing his Brothers Wife into the *Vatican* with his Brother, the very name of a Siſter in law being a moſt odious thing to the *Romans*, for *Donna Olympia's* ſake; but indeed, *Donna Berenice* is another ſort of woman, and one who ſhews modeſty and reſervedneſs in all her carriage, being unwilling to meddle with any thing to which ſhe is not call'd.

There is nothing to be ſaid of this Ladies Daughters, except that the Popedom is come in good time into the Family of the *Chigi*, for elſe they and their Husbands had been brought very low; for when they were married they had nothing, and their Husbands but very little, which was almoſt conſum'd by the charge of children coming on every day.

The Pope, to content the Father and Mother, gave theſe Ladies leave to appear in *Rome*, where they were receiv'd and treated very obligingly, by their brother the Cardinal *Padrone*, and were alſo viſited by all the *Roman* Nobility,

Nobility, and by the Ambassadours and Princes.

Don Agostino was also very kind to them, though with reserve, being somewhat jealous to see them so near the Pope, whose benevolence and good will he would fain ingross for the Masculine line of the Family: And in publick the Pope did not give any demonstrations of particular favour to them, that he might not increase *Don Agostino*'s jealousies, and the Courts murmurs; but in private he bestowed upon each of them three thousand Crowns; and in giving them this money, he said two or three times, That *what he did was out of charity; and that it was not his design to dissipate and spend the Churches Revenue upon his Kindred:* And these Ladies, who were born in *Siena*, and not in *Spain*, were not so scrupulously addicted to preserve the honour of their Gentility, as to refuse such Almes, as a *Spaniard* would have done: And I believe, Reader, that you would be of the same mind, and be well pleased, if any body would give you a good sum of money, for the love of God, and out of pure charity.

Besides this, *Don Mario*, and his Lady, have without doubt, been liberal to them out of that heap of Treasure, which they so well know how to get together; so that these Ladies journey to *Rome*, hath been, no doubt, a golden journey for them, which we may conjecture,

jecture, by the ſtate they live in now at *Siena*, having bought divers Lands and Houſes.

This is all that hitherto can be ſaid of this *Nipotiſmo*: But beſides theſe, the Pope hath another *Nipotiſmo*, of a remoter conſanguinity; who are ſo many, that they are innumerable; and the Pope hath been hitherto averſe to their coming to *Rome*, I believe, becauſe he is unwilling to diſoblige the neareſt *Nipotiſmo*; but if his Pontificate laſt, as it is thought it may, the Pope, who is naturally inclin'd to do good, may by little and little give them a ſhare in this good fortune, by Employments, Benefices, or ſome wayes.

Neither doth the Pope for all this, ſet aſide his own content, which is, to erect noble Buildings and ſtately Edifices, wherefore he hath doubled the Workmen, in that vaſt Enterprize of Saint *Peter*'s Church, being very deſirous to ſee it finiſhed; and having often ſaid to ſome Cardinals, his Confidents, that he ſhould not dye content, if he dyed before that were ended.

The *Nipotiſmo* is ſtrangely diſpleaſed at this expenſive humour of the Popes, ſeeing him every day changing and ſtreightning ſome Street, and mending ſome publick Edifice, for they would that that money were ſpared for them and the Family of the *Chigi*. Some dayes ago, *Don Mario*, and *Don Agoſtino*, went about to

put

put ſome other leſs expenſive deſign into the *Popes* head, and particularly to oblige him, to give over the *Porch* of Saint *Peter*, which is of ſo vaſt a charge: but the *Pope* is not to be remov'd from his inclination, and takes it very ill, that they ſhould controul him in his pleaſure, he, who not only doth not controul them, but hath given them all the means they have; and he perſiſts in this reſolution the rather, becauſe he is reſolved to have the glory of this Enterprize, and not leave it to his Succeſſour, who by a little addition would perfect ſo great a Work, and then place his Armes in the front of it as his.

Of late, *Alexander* hath been fain to furniſh to another expence, which is the Legation of the Cardinal *Padrone*, to meet the Empreſs at *Milan*; and the *Spaniards* pretend, that he appear'd in greater Splendour, then he did at the Court of *France*, as well to win their good will, as to pleaſe his own ambition, in being ſeen in ſuch pomp, in a place where moſt Ambaſſadours of *Princes* were to meet, nay, and many *Princes* themſelves.

To ſay truth, the *Pope* deſerves no ſmall praiſes for his noble inclination, in honouring ſometimes one *Prince*, ſometimes another, but particularly for the zeal and piety he hath ſhewed, in the choice of thoſe perſons that he hath promoted to be Cardinals; for in three or four promotions he hath alwayes picked out thoſe, who

who were moſt worthy of this eminent Dignity, having in that little regard to any bodies recommendation, if the Subjects themſelves did not anſwer the expectation conceiv'd of them; and whoſoever would enquire into the life of theſe his Creatures, will be ſatisfied of their integrity and learning, and confeſs, that many of them are worthy of the *Popedom*, and it may be, it may fall upon ſome of them, after the death of *Alexander*, who now thinks of little leſs then of dying; for at his firſt coming to be *Pope*, he thought ſo much of it, that now being weary of thoſe thoughts, he thinks of nothing but living.

All his drift now is, to oblige the Cardinals to a good correſpondence with *Don Agoſtino*, but he perpetually diſobliging them with his haughty carriage, 'tis thought, that after the *Popes* death they will little regard his recommendations in the choice of a Succeſſour, if things do not much change.

I would ſay ſomething of the future Conclave; but I think it is to no purpoſe, for the *Pope* doth little think of leaving this world, though the Cardinals pretenders do every day long for his death, that they may bring another *Nipotiſmo* in play. And ſome are very much convinced, that he cannot live long, conſidering the augmentation of his late indiſpoſitions; whereupon thoſe Cardinals, that compoſe the flying Squadron, have often met in ſecret, to agree

gree about a Succeſſour; but indeed, I think, that we ought to wiſh, that *Alexander* may live yet, for in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, his death would do no leſs then bring trouble to *Italy* and all *Chriſtendome*, which God forbid.

The Pope doth every day endeavour to get a protection for his *Nipotiſmo*, and would fain have the *Spaniards* declare Cardinal *Chigi* Protector of that Crown; and the Popes Nuntio in *Spain* hath made great inſtances to obtain it, that they, the Family of the *Chigi*, might be ſtrengthened: but I do not think he will obtain it, for the *Spaniards* are too great lovers of themſelves to protect a decaying Power, which will rather be a burden then a help to their Monarchy.

FINIS.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES

NEPHEWS,

FROM

The time of *SIXTUS* IV.

to the Death of the laſt Pope

ALEXANDER VII.

The Second Part.

Written Originally in *Italian*, in the year 1667. and Engliſhed by *W. A.*

LONDON,

Printed for *John Starkey*, at the *Miter* near *Temple-Bar* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1669.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

TO ſatisfie the curioſity of an infinite number of Perſons, who, having ſeen ſcarce any thing elſe of the Nipotiſmo *beſides the Title, do enquire after the Book with much earneſtneſs, I have made haſt to Print this Second Part, that ſo you might have it compleat; and I doubt not but you will be infinitely pleaſed with it. It is true, my intention was, in conformity to the Authors, to have waited yet a little longer; becauſe that Affairs in* Rome *ſeem inclinable to a change: But it was beyond my power to keep the Rain, which was already in the air, from falling to the ground; and I was forced to yield to the curioſity of ſo many Inquiſitive perſons. To which the Author was the more willing, becauſe he had a deſire to be rid of this* Nipotiſmo, *that he might give himſelf up to the compoſing of ſome other Books of no leſs curioſity: And I, on my ſide, have been deſirous to free my Preſs, that I might ſet*

it on work again for a Book, which no doubt will be very welcome to you.

It is Intituled, Europa Morta, *and comes from an Author who is a ſworn Enemy of Flattery. The Subject of the Book is all Politicks, and very ſharply handled, ſhewing the defects of all the Kingdoms and Republicks of* Europe, *which they are now ſubject to for want of men of that worth and vertue, in whom it was anciently ſo abounding.*

Divers Perſons, that have read the Manuſcript, *are very preſſing for the publiſhing of it; which I hope will be done within this two months at leaſt. And I doubt not but I ſhall ſatisfie that expectation which I now raiſe in you; for there you ſhall meet with the relation of ſome Accidents which hitherto have been kept cloſe from the ears of the Vulgar. In it Praiſes are diſpenſed with meaſure, and blame with juſtice; and ſo I hope this* Nipotiſmo *will cuſtom you to the Lecture of ſuch Books, and make your pleaſure the greater when you ſhall meet with the* Europa Morta, *which is Univerſal.*

Farewel.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

The Pope's NEPHEWS.

The Second Part.

The FIRST BOOK.

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ALL that we have ſaid hitherto, is but the Foundation of what we have to ſay: For to what end would it be to have ſeen the *Nipotiſmo* in *Rome*, if we did not ſee *Rome* in the *Nipotiſmo*? And

And we have been curious to pry into that which the *Popes* have done for their Kindred, we may much more juſtly examine that which the Kindred does for the *Popes*.

A *German* Prelate, who now lives, and has ſome Opinions very different from the profeſſion he makes of a Church-man; That is, Who is more Heretick than Catholick, does upon all occaſions, and whenſoever he happens into any company, where there is a liberty of talking, profeſs his mind in few words, and without any ambiguity, by ſaying, *That the* Popes *Kindred acquire this world by their Uncles Indulgence; and that the Uncle loſes the other world by his Nephews Vices.*

This opinion, which by many Catholicks would be condemned as Heretick, has nevertheleſs a great foundation in reaſon; and I am ſure that the moſt able and ingenious men of the Court of *Rome* do allow of it, and maintain it, as being a Prelate's opinion.

David, who was King, Prieſt, and Prophet, was continually in fear of being damned for others ſins; and, as we ſee, did every day deſire of God to be delivered from that imputation: And yet the *Popes* not only do not apprehend that they may be damned for their Kindreds ſins, but do furniſh them with the means of offending his Divine Majeſty. Certainly, the *Pope's* Relations would take another courſe if they thought they were out of the way to Heaven; neither would they be ſo covetous in heaping riches together, if they knew that the treaſure of the Church is but in truſt, and not in propriety to the *Popes*.

The Duke *Valentine*, Son to *Alexander* the 6th. did commit all ſort of crimes imaginable, breaking

both Divine and Humane Laws without any regard or consideration. But that which was worst of all, was, that he covered his Vices with the Cloak of the *Popes* Authority; Saying, whensoever he was about to commit a crime: *That he did very well know what he was about to do was just; for his Father, who did give him leave to do it, had the Holy Ghost.*

This is the mischief that the Popedom does to the *Popes*; or rather, that the *Popes* do to the Popedom. For to say true, the Popedom would be holy if the *Popes* were so too: But they do not desire it, or they cannot desire it, being governed by their Relations: if not as Popes, at least as private persons.

To this purpose I remember a Story which hapned about twenty years ago, and to which I give the greater credit; because I have it from a worthy Person, and one who heard the words which were said.

A *Swedish* Gentleman had left *Stockholm*, the Capital of the Kingdom, with a design to travel over all *Europe*, as Gentry uses to do: But his principle aim was to be instructed in the way of Worship of the Church of *Rome*, and be well informed of the difference between the Protestant and Catholick Religion, with a resolution to follow that which he should like best; and he thought no place fitter for his design than *Rome*, as being the City which gives the rule to others, having in it the Head of the Church, and an infinity of Church-men and Prelates.

In his way thither he met with another *German*, a Protestant, who had the same design; whereupon, having contracted a great Friendship together, they continued their Journey, and hapned to come to *Rome* in the beginning of the holy Week, which is the week before *Easter*.

Being

Being lodged, they began by little and little to frequent the Churches, see the Ceremonies, enquire into the *Pope's* Power, into his Court, and a thousand other particularities, all relating to the same end. The Magnificence of the *Pope's* Habit, the rich Ornaments of the Altars, the variety of Ceremonies, the Majesty of the Cardinals, and Prelates, the Devotion of the Monks and Fryars, and the great concourse of people to the Churches, did at first surprize these young Gentlemen; and inflame in them that desire which curiosity had already kindled.

Having observed all these things with great care and exactness, they began to inform themselves of the Civil Power of the *Pope*; of the Entrigues of the Court; of the Government of the City and State. And in their exact Inquisition they found that indeed all that Policy and Humane Wit could produce was to be seen in the Church-Government, and did not much disapprove of it: But no sooner had they (following still their first curiosity) pryed into the business of the *Nipotismo*, and discovered the interests of the Nephew towards the Uncle, and the Uncle towards the Nephew; but they presently resolved to return home, and live and die in the Protestant Religion.

The *German*, whether it was that he had dived into the secret of the *Nipotismo*, or for some other reason, was not altogether averse from changing his Religion; though by no means he would not remain in *Rome*: But the *Swede* was so scandalized at the Church-mens lives, that having conceived a perfect hatred for them, he said to the *German*, *That he would never be the Subject of a Bishop who should be the Slave of his own Relations.*

Of this Gentleman's opinion there are many, not only in Proteſtant Countries, but in the middle of *Italy* it ſelf; and I wiſh to God, that many of thoſe ſins, which lie ſo heavy upon the *Romans* conſciences, had not been occaſioned by the ſcandal which they continually receive from the *Nipotiſmo*.

That which I have related of a *Swede* is not much different from what I have to ſay of an Engliſh or Scottiſh man, I know not well which; but I am a very fit perſon to relate the Story, for I was preſent at the diſpute which he had with a French Biſhop: which was thus:

This Stranger had been two years in *Rome*, in which time he had had divers occaſions of being known to the *Pope* and his Nephews, as likewiſe of knowing them; and had been infinitely ſcandalized to ſee the ſmall care the *Pope* did take to correct his Nephews extravagancies both in Morals and Polities: But above all, he was much grieved to ſee that the *Pope* had taken out of the Treaſure of the Church the richeſt Jewels to beſtow them upon his Nephews; and that they made no ſcruple of robbing the Church to enrich themſelves. Having met in *France* with this French Biſhop, they fell upon the diſcourſe of Religion. The Biſhop perceiving the ill impreſſions he had received at *Rome*, thought it was a part of his duty to endeavour to blot them out of this Gentleman's mind, by telling him, *That it was impoſſible to be ſaved out of the Church of* Rome. But all that he could ſay was to no purpoſe, for the Proteſtant could ſcarce afford him audience, but impatiently interrupting him, told him, *That it was a hard matter that the* Pope *could ſave others, ſince he did give his own Nephews a moſt inevitable occaſion of damnation.*

Every

Every day the Caſuiſts are diſputing, *Whether or no a Thief may be ſaved without reſtitution of his theft, if he be in a poſſibility to do it?* And they all agree, that he muſt either make amends by reſtitution, or be damned. If this be ſo, how is it poſſible for the *Pope's* Nephews, if the greateſt part of their Revenues are the ſpoils of the Church, and got by unlawful means, the *Popes* having raiſed that very money, which they are ſo proud of, either out of dead mens graves, or the veines of the living.

Though this be true, and that the miſchief, which the *Popes* receive from their Kindred be very great; yet it is a neceſſary one, and ſo neceſſary, that many are of opinion, that thoſe *Popes* who do forbear advancing their Relations are but ſmall Politicians.

Three Reaſons do particularly move the *Popes* to call their Relations to them: Firſt, The affection which naturally we bear to our bloud and kindred, The conſervation of their Perſons, and the Policy of their Government.

For the firſt, I hold him little better than a Beaſt, that has no tye of Conſanguinity upon him, having many Relations that need his help; none but barbarous people are ignorant of thoſe Laws of nature, and are not altogether deprived of the uſe of them neither.

This love to ones Relations encreaſes as the Relations themſelves do multiply. And we may ſay, that love naturally deſcends; for in old people their love is greateſt to their Grand-children, and the fifth generation ſtill carry the old mans affections from the third and fourth. From hence proceeds, that the *Popes*, who ordinarily are old, are ſo paſſionate for the advancement of their Nephews, for whom often

they hazard their reputations in this world, and their souls in the next.

With our Kindred there is no *Medium* to be observed; we must either love them tenderly, and do for them all that lies in our power: Or we must hate them perfectly, and become cruel. It is not possible to be indifferent, and do them neither good nor evil; that would be to be neither man nor beast, which is impossible.

There has been some *Popes*, who in the beginning of their Reign, out of Zeal and Piety, have shewed themselves averse from their Kindred; not only refusing to favour them, but seeking out all occasions of mortifying them. But what folly, what devillish policy, what false hypocrisie is this? For my part, I call such a disposition a vicious humour, which soon passes out of them, or destroys them, Nature it self being offended at this so unnatural a proceeding.

Adrian the sixth, *Marcel* the second, *Urban* the seventh, *Leo* the tenth, were all *Popes* very severe to their kindred, having all sworn solemnly at their Election never to admit their Kindred into *Rome*. And *Adrian* the sixth was so extravagant that he persecuted them: For he refused to give a recompense to one of his Relations who had done the Church very good service, only because he was his Relation.

But Divine Providence, which delights not to see Nature despis'd, reveng'd this indiscreet Zeal upon these *Popes*; for they all liv'd but a very little after their Creation. *Adrian* liv'd but one year: *Marcello*, *Urban*, and *Leo* liv'd all three together, not two Months compleat.

So

So *Innocent* the Eighth, *Julius* the Second, *Pius* the Fifth, and our *Alexander* that now reigns, were at firſt ſtrangely averſe from their Kindred, which was interpreted by the People for nothing but Hypocriſie and Policy, that they might acquire the Title of Saints and Holy Men; for, a little after they were ſetled in their Kingdom, and in the Opinion of the Vulgar, they all found out ſome excuſe or another to authorize their change; and particularly our *Alexander*, who is now as kind as he was ſevere at firſt. And for my part I muſt confeſs, that I always laughed at *Alexander*, for his pretended zeale, in keeping his Relations at a diſtance; and I never began to have a true reſpect for him, and believe him really a Saint, till he had brought them to *Rome*.

And if Chriſt himſelf has left us written in the Goſpel, *That we ought not to deſpiſe our own Fleſh*, how can any *Pope* juſtifie an averſion to his Kindred?

Therefore I do not like that Anſwer of our *Pope Alexander* to the Cardinal *Medicis*, who did make it his buſineſs to oblige the *Pope* to call *Don Mario* to *Rome*; for he anſwered this Cardinal's Prayers and Entreaties with theſe words of Chriſt, *They are our Brothers and Siſters that do the Will of the Lord*; as if his Brother had done the Will of the Devil. And in the Example of Chriſt he was miſtaken; for he did not deſpiſe his Brothers, as having never had any: wherefore his Words were myſtical, and contained ſome more ſecret ſenſe. But we ſee that Chriſt himſelf did ſhew particular favour to his Relations, as to the two *Johns*, the *Baptiſt*, and the *Apoſtle*; declaring one to be the greateſt of Prophets, and giving to the other the liberty of laying his head in his lap: But more than that, he recommended his proper Mo-

ther the Blessed Virgin, to the Apostle *John*; and all the Evangelists own, that he was Christ's Favourite, and his Beloved.

After this Example, we need no other; and no body can be so bold as to pretend, That it is Piety not to own ones Relations, if Christ himself lov'd his so dearly.

But the *Popes* are not so much to blame, as those that blame the *Popes* for their affections to their Kindred: For, alas! the *Popes* are Men, as we are; and, as such, ought to be allowed something of our fragility. But in what a *Labyrinth* are they engaged? For if they are really averse and cruel to their own Blood, then Nature, Heaven, the Example of Christ, and all the Reason of the World, does condemn them for inhumane, ungrateful, and barbarous.

And if they are kind, and do receive them into *Rome*, advance them, give them Places and Honours, then Pasquins, Murmurs, Raileries, Affronts, and a thousand Tales of them, are the recompense they are to expect from the Vulgar, who send their Cries to Heaven, and their Complaints about the World against them.

Those *Popes* that first invented the Title of *Cardinal Padrone*, had it may be a mind to imitate our Saviour, who declared *John* the Evangelist his Cosin, to be his Favorite and beloved Disciple: For *Gregory* the Fifteenth was wont to call his Nephew *Ludovisio*, his beloved *John*, though his Name was *Lewis*; and he did so to shew, That since Christ declared in favour of his Cosin, the *Popes* might also declare in favour of their Nephews.

For my part, I am of opinion, that let them do what they will, it is not in their power not to love their Rela-

Relations, and to abſtain from doing of them all the good imaginable. And we have ſeen the experience of this in *Alexander* the Seventh, who made as if he had had no affection for them; but Nature ſoon made him lay aſide this Mask, and profeſs himſelf a Man, as the reſt.

This is then one of the Reaſons that move the *Popes* to be ſo tender of their Kindreds Advantages: But there is a ſecond, which is not any ways inferiour to this, which is the preſervation of their proper Perſon.

One of the greateſt misfortunes of a Princely Life, is the perpetual care and ſollicitude they are in, of preſerving themſelves. Their Goodneſs is often the ſubject of their Neighbours Envy. If they be wicked, they are hated by their own Subjects. So that often they are in doubt which they ſhall chuſe to be, Good or Bad.

Was there a greater Prince than *Henry* the Third of *France*? Was there ever any thing more magnanimous and good, than *Henry* the Fourth his Succeſſor? And yet their Greatneſs, their Bounty, and their Generoſity, could not preſerve their Perſons, but ſaw their blood ſhed moſt miſerably by the hands of barbarous Murderers.

But was there ever a better Prince in the World than the late King of *England*, *Charles* the Firſt, who had no fault but that he was too good? And yet ſuch Royal Goodneſs could not preſerve him (I tremble to ſpeak of it) from the barbarous hands of his own Subjects; and upon an ignominious Scaffold, was forced to loſe his Life by a fatal Ax.

What are Kingdoms and States to any body, if they muſt be perpetually from morning to night buſi-

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ed about their own preſervation? And what a miſfortune to a Man is a Kingdom, if to preſerve himſelf from his own Subjects, he muſt be fain to raiſe Cittadels and build Caſtles in all the places where he goes, that he can never ſleep, if Guards and Sentinels do not watch for him? Certainly a Subject's condition, that takes his reſt without fear, is much more to be valued, than the perpetual perplexity of a fearful Prince.

The *Popes* nevertheleſs are theſe unfortunate Men, and are more expoſed to the danger of being made away, than all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*. For if any body be ſo bold and wicked as to wiſh and deſire the death of a Prince whoſe Crown is Hereditary; yet he ſtops in his Enterpriſe, and conſiders, That he muſt fear the Sons Vengeance. Thoſe Men who conſented to the death, or, to ſay better, pronounced Sentence upon the late King of *England*, whereſoever they are now, they do without doubt repent their Action; and if they had ever thought of the happy Reſtauration of *Charles* the Second, they had dealt otherwiſe with his Father. So that I muſt ſay, by the leave of thoſe *Cromwellian* Politicians, That they were but pittiful ones that could not foreſee that. Wo be to thoſe that offend a Prince, in hopes that his Heir will forget the offence.

This Reaſon procures ſome Security to Princes of an Hereditary Kingdom, and makes the *Popes* endeavour to find out ſome means alſo to ſecure themſelves by their Kindred: For it is well known how many *Popes* have been poyſoned and made away, ſometimes by Emperours, ſometimes by the People, ſometimes by particular Perſons; and yet no body has ever taken upon them to revenge their death. And

why?

why? Becauſe that their Kindred, not being Heirs of their Power, are not in a capacity to ſhew their reſentment; and are much more buſied in getting into the next *Pope's* favour, who is ordinarily their Enemy, than in revenging their Uncle's death.

The Cardinals themſelves, who for their own Intereſt are not much concerned in the *Pope's* preſervation, do not trouble themſelves to inquire by what means he came to his end; 'tis enough for them that the Popedom is vacant, and that they have the Authority of chuſing a Succeſſor, who muſt be one of themſelves.

The *Popes* Lives are a perpetual War; for without they are ſet upon by the Cares and Troubles of their Employment, and within by the fear of death, which is ſo great in them, that they are afraid of the very Air they breath.

Sixtus the Fifth went one day to the Convent of the Apoſtles, which was aſſigned to the Fryars of the Order he had bin of: and coming in of a ſudden without giving any warning, met in their Refectory with a Brother who was eating a Meſs of Beans very hungrily. The good *Pope* remembring his ancient condition, ſat down by him upon a wooden Form, and fell to eating with as great an appetite as the Brother, and made him fill the Diſh up again when they had emptied it.

The *Pope's* Followers wondered, and were much ſurprized at his Phancy, or rather extravagant Appetite; but he taking no notice of them, continued to eat on with his wooden Spoon, the Beans that were very well oyled. At laſt having emptied the Diſh a ſecond time, and thanked the Brother for his kindneſs, he turned to his Followers and ſaid,

This

This Diſh of Beans will make me live two years longer than I ſhould have done; for I have eaten them with pleaſure, and without fear. Then lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, he bleſſed God that had given a *Pope* once in his life an occaſion of eating a meals Meat in quiet.

Pius the Fifth, who was very lean, was uſed to ſay, *That it was impoſſible that the* Popes *ſhould ever grow fat, for that Nature in them was never ſupplied but in fear.* And yet this *Pope* was one of the holieſt and beſt; though it is true, That Holineſs is ſubject to Envy, and therefore obliged to preſerve it ſelf againſt the malignity of its Enemies.

And indeed the diligence which the *Popes* uſe in preſerving themſelves, is ſuch, that it cannot chuſe but communicate to them a continual apprehenſion of ſome imminent danger: for they do not only watch what they eat, but they never eat any thing which has not been firſt taſted by thoſe that dreſs it, and ſerve it up; chuſing ordinarily upon a ſudden, and not beſpeaking that which they like.

Paul the Fourth was wont to give the greateſt part of his Dinner to thoſe that ſtood by, and make them eat it in his preſence; and then often he would take ſome of that which they had left: So that the whole Court was in perpetual fear, ſeeing the *Pope* ſo timerous.

But fear is not only inſeparable from them at Table, but at the Altar too; where they never eat the conſecrated Hoſt, before they have given a part of it to the Sacriſtan there preſent, whoſe care it is to provide them, and to eat that part which he receives from the *Pope*; who having divided it into two parts, gives him ſometimes the right ſide, ſometimes the left, as he pleaſes. The

The ſame precaution is uſed in the taking of the Cup or Chalice, which the *Pope* never taſtes, till the Sacriſtan has drunk ſome of it before him. So that it is evident, That the *Popes* do uſe many more preventions than any other Prince.

Now if it be thus with them, can they do better than to call about them their proper Kindred, into whoſe hands they may commit their Perſons? Who will take a greater care of their preſervation, than they who hope for Riches and Honour to their Family? And who will take the pains to contribute to the laſting of any Empire, but he that has the greateſt ſhare in the enjoyments of it?

Thoſe *Popes* who at firſt ſeemed averſe from their Relations, having in a ſmall time come to know the difficulty of their own preſervation in the hands of Strangers, have immediately called them to *Rome*, and thrown themſelves into their Arms, as a place of Refuge againſt ſo many who had an intereſt to deſtroy them; and by all ſorts of Favours, ſought to make it their Kindreds Intereſt to love and take care of them.

It may be that *Urban* the Eighth, who lived 23 Years *Pope*, had not attained to half that Age, if the *Barberins* had not uſed all imaginable means to prolong his life; which elſe would have been plotted againſt by both Princes and private perſons. But no body durſt undertake that which ſeemed impoſſible. And without doubt, the care they took of him, did exceed the deſire he had of living; for old age was become a burden to him at laſt.

Innocent the Tenth, after the Deſign of getting the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Spaniard* was diſcovered, ſtood in perpetual fear, leſt, to be revenged, they

they should plot his death; which it may be they had done, if *Donna Olympia* had not taken the care to dress his Meat, and feed him with her own hands: and in acknowledgment of her kindness, he would often say to her, *Sister, do you take care of me, and I'le take care that the Popedom shall be yours.*

Pius the Third, of the Family of *Picolomini* of *Siena*, had not died by poyson, procured him by *Pandolfo Petruccii* Tyrant of the said place, if he had had some of his Relations neer him; whereupon he was forced to trust his life in Strangers hands, and lose it miserably, before he could see any of his Kindred about him.

Buthere some body will say, *That indeed it would not be amiss that the* Pope *should resign the care of his Person to his Kindred, but not give them an unlimited Power over Church and State; That it is fit they do not want necessaries, but that he should not go about to content their insatiability.* To this we will answer in time and Place; it is enough for the present to have proved, That they are the most necessary Instruments of the *Popes* preservation. And because the obligation of him that receives his life from another is infinite, therefore the *Popes* do think, that they cannot repay but by infinite Gifts and Favours. Now we will pass to the third Reason, which is, The Reason of State.

The State or Politick Government of the Church, is the most unfortunate and miserable in the World; for it is neither Commonwealth nor Monarchy: and as an ingenious Prelate said, *It is neither from God nor the Devil.* And the causes of its Misery are divers; but particularly one is, Because the Supreme Governour always dying without Heirs, there is no body

body left to take pity of the grievances which are continually introduc'd by the Governours of Provinces who rule as they please.

Many compare all the Eccleſiaſtick State to a Town taken by an Enemy, who being out of hopes to keep it any time falls to plundering and deſtroying it, carrying away all that's good; and leaving to the poor Citizens nothing but the liberty of venting their complaints: Juſt ſo do the Church-men who are in authority in one *Pope's* life; for foreſeeing that their power is like to expire with him, and be reſigned up to his Succeſſor, they make Hay while the Sun ſhines, and uſe all manner of Extortions and Violences in their reſpective places for fear elſe of departing with their hands empty. And the people are ſo far from obtaining redreſs from thoſe that ſucceed them, that they had rather be under the Government of their old Maſters; for the new ones come with intention to do as much, if not worſe, than the others.

In the time of *Franceſco Maria della Rovere*, laſt Duke of *Urbin*, his Creatures ſeeing him paſt hopes of having any Heirs; and that after his death the Eſtate was like to fall to the Church, as being a Feife of it, they applyed themſelves to make their advantage by all means; that is, they plunder'd and ruin'd it, that they might leave it bare to the Church-men their Succeſſors. Particularly, when they ſaw the Duke languiſhing in a decrepit Age, they then beſtirr'd themſelves, and flew about like ſo many Bees to ſuck the reſt of the Honey: But he hapning to live longer than they expected they were at a loſs, and had drained all the State ſo dry; that they themſelves were fain to ſit and look upon the deſolate condition

of that Dukedom without being able to make it worse.

It came thus lean and impoverished into the Church-mens hands, who, for all they have such good Stomachs, were fain to forbear eating for the first seven years, till it had gathered a little flesh again; and then they fell to devouring of it afresh, and have since continued to do so: no sooner perceiving it to be a little recruited, but they extenuate it with Taxes, Impositions, and Extortions.

That which hapned once to the Dutchy of *Urbin*, happens often to the whole state of the Church; for as soon as the Governours, and other subordinate Officers, see the *Pope* drawing to his end, and by consequence that their time of getting is also ready to expire, every new *Pope* advancing new Creatures, there is no sort of Violence, Theft, Robbery, or Extortion, that they do not commit in their respective charges: which they no sooner resign to new Officers, but that they who come in poor, and must maintain the *Decorum* of their places, invent some new way of vexing the poor people, and enriching themselves; giving afterwards a little respite to the people to breath in, and by that time the *Pope* is a dying, and then they fall on a fresh.

So that it appears that the Popedom being Elective, and not Hereditary, causes all these misfortunes to the State and people; for this makes every body think of the present, and none of the future, there being no future amongst Church-men.

But if this inconveniency be great, it would without doubt prove much more intolerable, if the *Popes* had no Kindred to help them in the Government of the State and Church; For though it seem that a *Nipotismo*

potiſmo is directly bent upon its own profit and advantage: yet for divers reaſons and reſpects they do preſerve many places from ruine, and many Subjects from oppreſſion. Whereas if the *Pope* were without them, he would be forced to truſt to a great number of Governours, who would every one be as greedy, and as abſolute as a Nephew; and Lord it as high with the title of *Dominus Dominantium.*

The Nephews, who are few in number, take upon them to be both Shepherds, and Shearers; Treaſurers, and Extorters: ſo that they ſuffer no body to grow rich but for them, nor to riſe but by their means and to their profit, nor to take from others except it be to preſent them. For woe be to thoſe Miniſters of State, or ſubordinate Officers, that dare contradict a Nephew's Will; or do any thing without their Order.

Now this being ſo, it is evident that it is more eaſie to ſatisfie one mans avidity than a hundreds. If the Nephews were not, every Prelate, every Biſhop, every Abbot, every Cardinal, would treat the Church as the Jews did our Saviour's Garments; that is, divide it amongſt them: and it may be, would leave nothing for their Succeſſors; for their Maximes are indeed to live well themſelves, but not to provide that others may do ſo too.

The *Nipotiſmo* looks upon the Popedom as their own, and ſo they have ſome conſideration for a thing in which they pretend a propriety. When once their Purſe is full they let it breath, and recover its forces. 'Tis true that that ſeldom falls out; for we have ſeen the *Barbarins*, enjoy the ſtate of the Church for three and twenty years: and yet ſhew as much avidity when they were upon the point to leave it, as when they firſt entred upon it.

Besides this, if *Rome* were without a *Nipotiſmo*, the Government of the City would be every day in new hands; every Church-man's ambition being to climbe up to the top of the Wheel, and supplant him that stands next to the Soveraign Power. So that the Church would be in one Pontificate, tossed like a ball from one to the other; and that most commonly by very unskilful persons: the mystery of Church-Government being a thing not to be mastered but by those who stay long in it, and acquire great experience in the management of affairs.

Moreover, if the State were governed by different Persons under the Reign of one *Pope*, it would be a very hard matter to find out the Author of the Peoples miseries, every one having his Predecessors actions for an excuse; so that men would also lose that poor consolation of being able to show their Tormenters: But it is not so when a *Nipotiſmo* governs, for then as they have the Honour, and Riches; so must they endure the Reproaches, and Complaints made against their Government, which the *Romans* do without mercy, making the air sound and repeat their murmurs with a thousand Echoes.

These reasons do sometimes prevail upon the *Pope's* Kindred to make them abstain from doing all the mischief they would do; or at least they suffer not others to commit crimes and faults which they know will be laid to their charge: and of the imputation of which they shall be sure to be heirs as well as of their Uncle's riches.

And indeed, how would it be possible for the State of the Church, which is a Monarchy, to be governed well if it were governed as a Republick; For in Commonwealths the Governours are the Citizens

tizens and Natives themſelves, who being ſure that the State they govern, is their own, do adminiſter with Juſtice and Equity; firſt, as reaping a benefit by their moderation; And ſecondly, as being ſure to expect a puniſhment when they are out of their charges: But the *Pope* having the diſpoſing of all places and charges, does often advance Strangers; who have no deſign but of making their own Fortune, and who, when once removed from their dignities, may either leave the State, or elſe procure impunity by a part of thoſe riches which they have extorted from the poor people. It is much better therefore that there ſhould be a *Nipotiſmo*, into whoſe hands the *Popes* may truſt their Government and Perſon; and who by the purchaſe which they make of great Eſtates do, as it were, ſettle themſelves within the State: and may fear the being called to an account for their violences, if they exceed meaſure.

There are three other reaſons which ſeem to conclude very ſtrongly in favour of a *Nipotiſmo*, which are theſe:

That the *Pope* may more eaſily diſcover the intereſts of Foreign Princes; That he may be able to govern with more care and affection; And that he may be able to carry on the Negotiations of his Court with more ſecrecy.

And indeed, it would not only be difficult, but almoſt impoſſible for the *Pope* to dive into the hidden intereſts and deſigns of Foreign Princes without a *Nipotiſmo*; For how could he truſt Strangers with his ſecrets, if he could not be aſſured that they would reciprocally reveal to him all theirs. The Miniſters of State would be eaſily corrupted to betray the *Pope* their Maſter, and incline much more to oblige

Princes, upon whom, because of their hereditary and settled condition, they might relie, than to be faithful to one who might fail every moment; and with him all their hopes and expectations.

Besides, the Princes themselves would hardly condescend to reveal their secrets, and treat of important matters in the Court of *Rome*, when they should know and see that they must confide in strangers, whom another Prince might bribe and corrupt to their disadvantage; For just so far do Soveraigns trust the *Pope* as they see about him people, in whom he may trust himself.

Urban the eighth deserves no small praises for his Policy, all along his Reign: but particularly, for his method and way of treating with the Soveraigns of *Europe*; whose secrets were all revealed to him, whereas none of his were revealed to them again. For the same means, which he used to discover others designs, help him to conceal his own.

For having created his two Nephews Cardinals, and gave them instructions worthy such a politick head as his was, he made one of them declare for *Spain*, and the other for *France*; each of them making demonstration of an extraordinary kindness for the Crown they protected. Which thing proved most fortunate to the *Pope*, and successful in the design he had, to be Master of the secrets of both Kings.

Now that this was a design of the Uncle, and no particular inclination of the Nephews, appears easily; because that Cardinal *Antonio*, who sided with the French, had never had any communication with this Nation before his being made Cardinal: neither had he received from them any kindness that could endear him to their Party: Nay, indeed he had rather

rather reaſon to encline to the Spaniards, from whom he had received many courteſies worth acknowledging; but he followed in this his Uncle's ſuggeſtions.

The Cardinal *Franceſco* on the other ſide who had never any great inclination for *Spain*, and who in the ſervices he did do them, did not appear with that violence that Cardinal *Antonio* did; for the *French* would nevertheleſs in obedience to his Uncle often declare for them: and in ſome occaſions ſhow a great deal of affection and deſire to oblige a Crown, which did ſeek after his protection.

Urban having thus aſſigned the care of the intereſt of theſe two Potent Princes to his Nephews, could not chuſe but be perfectly informed of their deſigns, and ſecret intrigues of their Courts; whoſe Miniſters and Ambaſſadours in order to a further diſcovery of the *Pope's* inclinations, were forced to communicate before hand a great part of their ſecrets to the Cardinal, Protector of their Kingdom, in hopes by his means of diving further into that which was yet hidden to them: but moſt commonly they got little light and intelligence by it, for the Nephews following exactly their Uncle's Inſtructions, did endeavour to pump every body elſe, and keep themſelves cloſe. Their Uncle in the mean time well informed on both hands, was ſure to take juſt meaſures; and by an even carriage ſo to entertain the affections of both Kings, as to make them both his Friends: and really one who could govern a Popedom ſo well, and eaſily, betwixt ſo oppoſed and different Intereſts, did deſerve to govern as long as *Urban* did.

Innocentius might have been named for one of the greateſt Politicians in the world, if his Siſter-in-law had not lead him aſtray; or rather if he had been guilty of an unparalell'd inconſtancy in changing ſo often his *Nipotiſmo*.

For they that were diſgraced did immediately reveal to Princes all the ſecrets of his Court, and they who came in their room could never penetrate into the hidden deſigns of Forreign Courts; for the Princes of thoſe Kingdoms and States durſt not truſt them with any thing, as being alwayes afraid, leſt they ſhould be turned off as the firſt.

And in effect, as ſoon as the news of the adoption of Cardinal *Aſtalli* was ſpread abroad, there were many that laid great wagers, that he would not conſerve himſelf in his poſt long; and the grounds they went upon, was the unconſtant humour of the Pope, which no body could truſt to.

Cardinal *Mazarine* himſelf being weary of ſo many extravagant changes in the *Nipotiſmo* of *Innocentius*, and ſeeing *Aſtalli* fallen out of his favour, and the *Barberins* in his place, ſaid to one of his Confidents, in the preſence of a French Proteſtant, theſe words, *I have never relyed much upon the Cardinal* Aſtalli; *and I ſhall now ſcarce rely upon the Pope himſelf*. Many Princes both of *Italy* and *Germany* were of Cardinal *Mazarine's* minde in this, and became very cautious in all their negotiations; avoiding all occaſions of treating with his Holineſs, as knowing that nothing could be well managed in ſuch diviſions, and changes.

Thus we ſee, that not only the *Popes* muſt have near them thoſe that have the title of Nephews; but they muſt be really ſuch, as by conſanguinity may

may be obliged to the ſame intereſt with the *Pope*, if he means that others ſhould truſt them. This is the only way to make the *Popes* appear Sovereigns, as really they deſire to be; and any other way they will ſeem rather to be the Heads of a Commonwealth than abſolute Princes.

It is fit therefore, that they ſhouſd be allowed a *Nipotiſmo* for their own and others ſafety; but it is not juſt that they ſhould ſo indulge this *Nipotiſmo*, as to ſet it above themſelves, and become its ſlaves. Let them treat with Princes, but let them not become ſo themſelves, and uſurp the *Pope's* Authority, ſo far as to uſe it without his knowledge, and often contrary to the Intereſts of the Church and State.

Let them not do as *Gregory* the 15th. who had given to the Cardinal *Ludoviſio* his Nephew, ſo great an Authority of doing and ſaying what he pleaſed, without ſo much as conſulting his Uncle, that he was really become *Pope*, and the *Pope* as if he had been the Nephew; and if ever he come and give him part of any ſecret negotiation, it was becauſe the thing was ſo intricate, that he either could not, or durſt not undertake to come to execution, without being firſt fortified with his Uncle's advice and approbation.

But the beſt was, that the *Pope* himſelf did not dare to ask him any queſtions about buſineſs, or inform himſelf otherwiſe; but ſometimes would be whole weeks together without ſo much as ſeeing the face of an Ambaſſadour, or publick Miniſter: his Nephew in the mean time giving Audience, and concluding all buſineſs with them.

And the *Pope* was ſo cuſtomed to this uſage, that it,

it never came into his minde to be offended at it; but would very contentedly make amends for thoſe faults which his Nephew did often commit in his adminiſtration: and whenſoever he did ſee his Nephew come into his preſence, he would ſay, *Nephew, I am ſure 'tis ſome very hard and intricate buſineſs that brings you hither, for elſe we ſhould ſcarce be repaired to for counſel.* And he had a great deal of reaſon to ſay ſo, for his Nephew did never communicate to him any negotiation, except he had firſt ſpoiled it, and brought himſelf to a *non-plus*; and then the *Pope* would oblige the Congregations of the Cardinals to take the buſineſs into their care, and ſet right again that which had been ſpoiled by his inability.

The ſecond reaſon for the *Nipotiſmo* is, that the *Popes* may be able to govern with more care and affection. There is nothing that forces more a Prince to anſwer the ends of Government, and to oblige his people, than when he conſiders that the Government is to deſcend to his Heirs; for a Prince without a Succeſſor does often diſſipate and ſpoil that which he would preſerve, if he had any body to leave it to.

The State of *Venice* which never eſtabliſhed any Law without having firſt deliberated upon it, and ſifted it in their Council of *Pregadi*, does think fit to oblige the kindred of the dead Duke to anſwer for their Kinſman's miſdemeanours and miſcarriages; fining them in great ſummes of money for a reparation of his faults: ſo that often they are fain to endure for the dead Duke thoſe puniſhments, which his Dignity when he was alive, and his death, have preſerved him from.

The

The effect of this is, that the Dukes of *Venice* do comport themſelves with all moderation and equity, following exactly thoſe rules of Government which they receive from the State; And the fear they are in of leaving their Relations engaged in a painful ſatisfaction for their faults, does oblige them to ſtudy night and day how they may ſerve the publick: in doing which, they do at the ſame time oblige their Countrey, themſelves, and their Kindred; whereas elſe they might be ſubject to follow their own private intereſts, to the prejudice and detriment of all the Commonwealth.

The *Popes* have almoſt the ſame fear upon them, and by conſequent the like obligation; for the only conſideration of leaving their Relations engaged with too powerful enemies, has often made them deſiſt from enterprizes, which would have proved fatal to their State, and all Chriſtendom.

Urban the 8th. did often proteſt, that if it had not been out of a kindeneſs to his Nephews, he would either have hazarded the Popedom, or have brought Princes to his will.

The *Popes* know very well by experience, that there is no way to preſerve their *Nipotiſmo* from the perſecution which ordinarily they are to expect from their Succeſſours; whenſoever their Succeſſors are ſuch as come with pre-occupation againſt them, and finde in the Government of the Church and State ſo many abuſes, which do quicken their indignation againſt the precedent *Nipotiſmo*.

This is a very great tye upon them in their adminiſtration, which appears if once they come to caſt it off.

Paul the 4th. who had much of a barbarous and inhu-

inhumane humour in him, more becoming a Souldier than a Pope; as soon as he had banished his Nephew from *Rome*, did do things with a great deal more resolution and insolence than before: insomuch that it seemed, as if he had a minde to reduce all the world under his Laws, and force Christendom to follow the dictates of his *Capriccio*.

The Ministers of Princes who had to do with him, did extremely complain of this his proceeding; for he did no less than threaten them all upon every occasion: and one day particularly as the Spanish Ambassador was complaining to him of some occasion of disgust which his Holiness had given the Crown of *Spain*, he answered him in a fume, *That he had now no Nephews to care for; and that suppos'd, That his actions did deserve to be blamed, he little cared: for with his death all resentments would vanish*: meaning he was no longer concerned for his Relations, for whose sake he had all this while contained himself within the limits of the Papal Dignity.

Some say that *Julius* the second did bear a great affection to his Kindred, but did forbear any demonstrations of kindeness to them out of a more solid Principle of Love; which was, That they might not receive any reproaches or injuries after his death, for those faults which he might have committed in his life time: for having resolved to do nothing but make War, and lead a Souldiers life, as indeed he did, he would infallibly have drawn the revenge of all his Enemies upon his kindred, to whom therefore he shewed himself averse.

And indeed it was wisely done of him, and kindely;

ly; for it was impoſſible but ſo warlike a humour as his was, muſt needs offend many Princes, who all would have been revenged upon his *Nipotiſmo*, as Authors; and Partakers of their Uncle's Deſigns.

If *Urban* had done the ſame thing, the perſecution of the *Barberins* had not been at all, or at leaſt had not been ſo violent; but the great Authority with which they appeared under him, did make Princes believe that all the *Pope's* actions were of their plotting and managing.

So, when the Duke of *Parma*, and the Princes his allyes made War againſt the Church, they declared to all the world that they had no deſign to offend the *Pope*; but only to be revenged of the *Barberins*, whoſe ambition they accuſed as the Motive of the War.

Quite contrary, All the errors and miſcarriages of *Innocent* the 10th. were never imputed to his Nephew the Prince *Pamphilio*; for every body knew well, that he had no ſhare in the adminiſtration of the Government, and yet he is in poſſeſſion of all thoſe riches and vaſt ſummes of money which *Donna Olympia* his Mother had got together: and no doubt if ſhe were now alive, ſhe would certainly be in very great danger, if it were only, becauſe of that opinion which Princes had conceived of the Authority with which ſhee rul'd, and was thought to have a hand in all the tranſactions of her Brother's Pontificate.

And on the other ſide, that tender affection which the Pope did bear to his Siſter-in-law, was very uſeful towards the abating ſomething of the violence of the *Pope's* temper, diverting him from all

all thoughts of War, and keeping him from entring into Leagues and Confederacies with Princes, with whom he desired to live in peace.

When the revolution of *Naples* happened, which was the greatest occasion that ever any *Pope* had to possess himself of that Kingdom, he was so far from attempting it, that he would never so much as say a word, or enter into deliberation about it; not that he wanted courage or desire: but only because he would not leave *Donna Olympia*, and his Kindred, involved in an irreconcilable War with *Spain*, and in danger of ruining themselves for ever.

Our *Alexander* has always used the same precautions, for when *Don Agostino* in the heighth of his insolence and pride disobliged so openly the Family of *Colonna*, by making his Uncle the Cavalier *De la Ciaia* take up that place in the Theatre, which the High Constable *Colonna* had hired for himself.

The *Pope* was infinitely offended at so rash an action, not out of any consideration for the merit of the Family of the *Colonna*; but because he knew that such an accident could not choose but be followed by an open enmity betwixt the two Families of *Chigi* and *Colonna*: therefore without any delay the *Pope* gave order, that all the means of reconciliation should be sought out. And finding that *Don Agostino* stood too much upon his terms, and would not be brought to make any satisfaction to the Constable, the *Pope* grew passionate; and sending for him, forced him to a present complyance, using some reproaches: and amongst others, these words, *You commit extravagant follies, and I must*

muſt be put to the trouble of making amends for them, to free you from the danger of their conſequences. And a little after, *You do nothing but procure miſchief to your ſelf and me, while I make it my buſineſs to do you good.*

I will not ſay any thing of the buſineſs of the Duke of *Crequy*, for it is moſt certain, that without the conſideration of his Kindred, the *Pope* had never condeſcended to an agreement ſo advantageous for *France*.

Witneſs the *Pope's* own expreſſions to thoſe Ambaſſadours and Cardinals, who for the quiet of *Italy* did endeavour to take up the buſineſs. The Venetian Ambaſſadour aboue all did concern himſelf very much in the buſineſs, following the Orders of his Senate; which does wiſely fore-ſee and endeavour to take away all cauſes of a War in *Italy*: and as he was preſſing the *Pope* upon the buſineſs, his Holineſs anſwered him, *That it was a great affliction to him that he had introduced his Kindred into* Rome; *for elſe he would either have broke himſelf, or have made* France *bend.*

But the Ambaſſadour who was very ready in all occaſions, but particularly prepared upon this, anſwered him, *If your Holineſs had never brought your Kindred into* Rome, *this accident had not happened.*

To which the *Pope* replyed ſuddenly, *Well then, we muſt make all well again, to the Churches prejudice, and our Kindreds advantage.*

The like diſcourſe he had with *Monſignor Raſponi* (who now is Cardinal) and was then created Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of *Piſa*, after he had in vain been ſent to *Lyons*, to make an agreement; for

for there the business was crossed with a thousand difficulties, amongst which the precedency was one.

The *Pope* was brought into such a Labyrinth, that he did almost lose his wits in seeking how to come out of it; for on one side the affection of his Family did continually solicite him to yield to the great pretensions of the French King; on the other, the *Decorum* and honour of his Pontificate, which would be blurr'd with the infamy of having given away so much of the Dignity and Profits of the Church, did make him resolve to be constant, and bate nothing of that respect and Majesty which the *Popes* do use to expect from Princes: and the rather, because he had alwayes shewed himself a singular defender of the Pontifical Dignity, and could not endure to be forced to submit to a Crown, for which he had never had any great inclination.

For all this, at last, the interest of his Kindred carried it before those of the Church; and after he had worn out all the slights and arts that the Court of *Rome* could furnish him withal, he was forced at last to come to an agreement, as infamous for the See of *Rome*, as it was honourable for *France*.

Whereupon some of the most zealous Cardinals having vented their complaints in the Consistory it self, blaming *Monsignor Rasponi* for signing the Treaty, He was obliged to excuse himself to every one of them in a particular Visit, by saying, *That he had an express Order from his Holiness for what he had done; who had declared his resolution of yielding to any conditions, rather than of leaving his Family engaged against so powerful an Enemy as France.* To which purpose he related to some of his particular

ticular friends, the very words which the *Pope* ſpoke to him when he went to take his leave of him to go to *Piſa*, to treat with the Duke of *Crequy*, which were theſe, *Be diſcreet and yield up ſomething of the Popedom, to ſave our Family; and not leave them and the Church in an obligation of maintaining a dangerous War in* Italy.

Thus it appears that it is not ſo much that univerſal care of a Father, that makes the *Popes* maintain a good correſpondence with Chriſtian Princes; as the fear of leaving Enemies to their Families, and bringing ruine upon their Relations.

We all know that every *Pope* either out of envy or ſome other motive is well pleaſed to leſſen, if not utterly to deſtroy the Family of his Predeceſſor; and of this we have had many experiences ſince two ages. Therefore alſo the *Popes*, to prevent this misfortune, do ordinarily endeavour to get, while they are alive, the protection of ſome eminent Chriſtian Prince, for their Family; under whoſe wings they may ſhelter themſelves in a time of calamity.

And if this be, we may conclude, that all the affection, the care, and the deſire which the *Popes* have of advancing their Kindred, does at laſt turn to a general benefit and profit for Chriſtendom; and if you except one inconvenience, which is, that they impoveriſh the Church, and carry away all its treaſure, it were and is better for all other conſiderations, that the *Popes* do govern conjoyntly with their *Nipotiſmo*, than without it: which is proved by a third reaſon; which is, that without a *Nipotiſmo* the Negotiations and buſineſs of the Court could never be carried with ſecreſie enough.

I am in doubt whether it be harder to keep a thing secret in the Court of a Prince, than in the Council of a Commonwealth; for in the Commonwealth the great number of Counsellors make the keeping of a Secret a very difficult thing: and in the Court of Princes, the envy of those Courtiers, who are excluded from the management of Affairs, is so sharp-sighted, and does so pry and penetrate into the most hidden Mysteries of the Court, to the end they may either hurt the Prince through his Counsellors, or the Counsellors through the Prince, that it is almost impossible to keep any thing hidden from them.

I am of opinion, that for one reason the Secrets of a Commonwealth are better concealed, which is; because that those that are conscious to them, are themselves the Princes and Masters of the State: but in a Monarchy, the Prince being forced to trust some of his Subjects, it is much more dangerous for him and for his business; for he becomes slave and dependent of those who should be his. Divers Histories will furnish us with examples to prove what we say; and if that be true, and that yet nevertheless it is very hard to keep counsel in a Commonwealth, it is easily inferr'd, how difficult a thing it is to do it in a Monarchy.

But what shall we say then of the state of the Church, of which no body can tell whether it be Commonwealth, or Monarchy, the *Popes* appearing sometimes absolute like Princes, and other while dependent like Dukes of Commonwealths; and without doubt the *Popes* could never be able to conceal so many private and publick interests without that trust and relyance, which they have in their

their *Nipotiſmo* : and this particularly for two reaſons. The firſt is thus.

The Court of *Rome* taken in all its latitude, is without doubt the greateſt of *Europe*, and the moſt magnificent of Chriſtendom ; for it yields to no other in the great number of Ambaſſadours, and publick Miniſters which reſide in it.

For the *Popes*, that they may the better conſerve the title of Univerſal Father, which they affect, do by all means procure to have as many Ambaſſadors of Chriſtian Princes near them as they can. But that very thing by which this Court ſeems to be moſt honoured, does alſo carry with it an evident danger ; for theſe Ambaſſadours and Reſidents being unwilling to ſtay in *Rome*, without procuring ſome conſiderable advantage to the Princes that ſend them, are perpetually watching for occaſions to diſcover the *Popes* moſt ſecret deſigns : ſo that they are in effect ſo many ſpyes, who the more they are in number, the more do they encreaſe the difficulty of preſerving and concealing the Secrets of the Court.

Before I ſpeak of the ſecond Reaſon, which makes the Court of *Rome* ſo ſuſpicious a place for Secrets, I muſt ſay ſomething about the Cardinals, and their Office, and Employment.

The Cardinals are the *Pope's* Counſellors, who by the Dignity of their place, and the Majeſty of their Habit, do much augment the pomp and ſplendor of the Court. The *Popes* do every day give them new Priviledges and Prerogatives, by the means of which they are reſpected like ſo many Kings.

This makes Forreign Princes endeavour to get

their friendſhip by all means, giving them both ſecret and publick allowances and Penſions, in conſideration of theſe Prerogatives, and of the power which they have to chuſe the *Pope*; who muſt neceſſarily be one of their number.

But if Princes ſhew a promptitude and readineſs to win the Cardinals affections, they are themſelves reciprocally courted by the Cardinals for divers reaſons; As firſt, for the Emolument of their Penſions; Next, that they may not obſtruct their way to the Popedom by an open Excluſion in the Conclave; And laſt of all, that they may live in greater reputation and eſteem in *Rome*, Where thoſe Cardinals are moſt valued that entertain an exact correſpondence with Princes: particularly if it be with any of the two Crowns of *Europe*, that is, *France*, or *Spain*; upon whoſe Brigues and Intereſts does ordinarily depend the election of the *Pope*.

Now it is to be believed, that theſe Princes do not prodigally ſpend their Treaſure without receiving a continual Intereſt for it; which Intereſt is an exact information of all that is done, treated, and managed in the Court of *Rome*: And of this the Cardinals acquit themſelves with great induſtry and diligence.

So we ſee, how intricate and troubleſome the Government of *Rome* would become to the *Popes*; if they had not Confidents, that is, Nephews, on whom they might relie; and to whom they might truſt their ſecrets without fear.

For indeed, a *Pope* without Kindred muſt renounce Monarchy, and reſolve to be only as the Head of a Commonwealth; which would be juſt to give himſelf up into the hands of the Cardinals, and be at their diſcretion: Which if it were, every body may eaſily

eaſily infer how dangerous it would prove to the *Pope's* Authority, and how unbeſeeming the greatneſs and *decorum* of his place and dignity. Beſides that, probably things would fall into confuſion and diſorder, while every Cardinal would be more intent to ſatisfie his own ends; and, as they ſay, draw the water to his Mill, than to mind the neceſſities of the State and Church.

If the *Pope* could do nothing without the counſel and aſſent of the Cardinals, How would he be able to treat any Leagues, make Wars, or Peace? Which are things ſo incident to the nature of a great State, ſuch as the *Pope's* is, that it can ſeldom be without them. There would be framed a thouſand difficulties in the very beginnings of Negotiations; and the Enemy would know all before you had reſolved any thing. Every Cardinal would ſupport his Prince and Country, and at laſt they would all be ſo embaraſſed and confounded, that they would either be in danger of loſing themſelves for the Church, or of expoſing the Church to miſchief to ſave themſelves.

How would it be fit, that the *Pope* ſhould adviſe with the Senate of Cardinals, if they themſelves are his and the Churches greateſt enemies, If they have not only promiſed, but ſworn fidelity to the Party of thoſe Princes that give them Penſions and Revenues? How then can they follow the *Pope's* directions, or conſent to his deſigns? Certainly they muſt either cheat the Prince, that they may be true to the Church; or be falſe to the Church, that they may not be ungrateful to thoſe Princes, whoſe money they have taken.

There are ſome Cardinals that would not care, if all

were loſt, ſo they did but ſave their Family, which is under the protection of ſome Prince; and avoid themſelves the reproach of ingratitude from their Benefactors.

The greateſt part of the Cardinals are either of the *French* or *Spaniſh* Faction, and each of them makes it his greateſt glory to defend the Pretenſions of the Crown he protects, whether juſt or unjuſt; ſo that often between them they neglect and ruine the Intereſts of the Church and *Pope*. How were it poſſible then for the *Pope* either to preſerve himſelf or the Church in its Prerogatives, if he would take and follow the counſel of thoſe whoſe intereſt makes them the Enemies to both; though they pretend, that what they do is only out of a tender conſideration of the publick good.

To this purpoſe I remember that a certain *Italian* Cardinal, being weary of holding for many years on the *Spaniards* ſide, gave himſelf to the *French* by the mediation of a better Penſion which they promiſed him. And indeed the Cardinals, whatſoever they pretend, have no other inclination to either party than what their Intereſt leads them to; For he that gives higheſt Penſions, and the beſt Benefices, is ſure to have them.

This Cardinal, having thus renounced the *Spaniard*, did go about to take away the imputation of inconſtancy and ſelf-intereſt; and would ſay in all companies, *That he had no other end in doing ſo, but a deſire to be able to ſerve the Church and* Pope *the better.*

But another Cardinal, of great experience and prudence, hearing him one day diſcourſe after this rate, could not forbear ſaying theſe words to him, *I wiſh to God*

God that your Eminence, that have never been able to do the Church any ſervice while you were a true Spaniard, *may do her ſome now you are a counterfeit* Frenchman. And this he ſaid in the preſence of divers Cardinals and Embaſſadours.

Let us then conclude, that the State and Church can never be well governed, as to the point in hand, if the *Popes* be without Nephews to relye on, and in whoſe ſecrecy they may confide.

Innocentius the tenth was ſo convinced of this truth, that finding himſelf deprived of thoſe helps which he could not receive from his lawful Kindred by reaſon of their inabilities; and withal ſeeing that he was expoſed to the unſatiable avarice of a woman, his Siſter-in-Law, he was fain to take the young *Aſtalli* and declare him Cardinal Nephew, and *Padrone*, giving him the name of *Pamphilio*; and in a word, made him in *Rome*, as *Pharaoh* was in *Ægypt*, the Governour of all things.

But what hapned? This young Cardinal not being able to comply with the *Pope's* humours, and having no tye of Conſanguinity upon him, was rather a Traytor to him than a Nephew; for he did reveal to the *Spaniards*, from whom he did ſecretly receive good Penſion, all that paſſed through his hands, or that could come to his knowledge: caring not how he hazarded and engaged the *Pope's* Honour and Reputation.

Particularly, at that time that the *Pope* and the *Barberins* together, did conſult how they ſhould fall upon the Kingdom of *Naples* and divide it among themſelves, *Aſtalli* all day long did ſet ſpies, and endeavour himſelf to diſcover their Counſels; and then ſecretly in the night did give the *Spaniards* notice of

all; who, being thus well inſtructed, did eaſily prevent their Enemies deſigns, by taking away all thoſe means which the Pretendants relied upon for the execution of their Enterprize.

Upon this the *Pope* enraged againſt *Aſtalli*, baniſhed him from *Rome*, took away from him all that he had ſo liberally given him, except the quality of Cardinal; of which he could not be deprived but for great crimes, and that by a fair trial too.

Now if the *Pope Innocent* could not truſt one whom he had raiſed from nothing; and if the ſecrets of his Court were revealed and publiſhed by a Cardinal ſo much obliged to him, How can other *Popes* truſt Cardinals that are as it were their enemies by being too much other Princes friends?

Theſe are the reaſons that force the *Popes* to call their Kindred about them, and ſhew them all demonſtrations of kindneſs; and I think they are ſuch as prove that the *Pope* cannot govern according to the rules of good Policy, if their Kindred be not with them, and have not a ſhare in their fortune.

And if it be ſo, Why do we murmur ſo much againſt the *Popes* for ſpending the Treaſure of the Church in maintaining the greatneſs of their Nephews? ſince it is certain that their Pomp and State is the Churches. And to what ſhall its Treaſure be uſeful, except it ſerve to make the Majeſty of the Popedom appear to the eyes of the world? For there is no doubt, that if the *Pope's* Spiritual Authority were not held up and maintained by his Temporal Power, it would ſoon be ruined and deſpiſed For now adaies the reputation of riches and ſtrength is that, which breeds reſpect for the Popedom; as in the Primitive

Primitive Ages of the Church it was upheld by holineſs of life, and good example.

Poor Church-men are indeed reſpected ſtill by ſome devout Women, and the Vulgar: But they are deſpiſed in the Courts of Princes; where the Rich are welcome, and honourably received. A poor Church-man muſt wear a Hair-cloth, Faſt, do Penitence, and work Miracles to be known and reſpected: But a rich one, without more ado, ſhall immediately be ſaluted and welcomed even where he is unknown.

Why are the Jeſuites ſo in vogue in the World, and deſired in Courts, as if Princes could not be without them. The Vulgar adore them, Noblemen reſpect them, and Magiſtrates grant them protection and priviledges. Is it that they ſerve the Church better than other Church-men? No certainly: For the Orders of Saint *Francis* and Saint *Dominick* have ſpent more bloud in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith in a Day, than the Jeſuites in an Age; neither do they live a more exemplary or a ſtricter life than others. How comes it to paſs then, that they are ſo powerful? I will tell you; Money is the Key which opens all all doors to theſe good Fathers, by which they purchaſe Credit, Power, and Authority, even amongſt Church-men, and in the Court of *Rome*.

The *Popes* by this, ſeeing how important a thing Riches are in the hands of Church-men, do very wiſely ſtrive to furniſh their *Nipotiſmo* with them; that as they are to treat and manage the greateſt affairs of Chriſtendom: ſo they may do it with the Pompe and State, that ſo Eminent an Employment does require.

It

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

The Pope's NEPHEWS.

The Second Part.

The SECOND BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is diſcourſed, of all the good and ill that the Pope's *Nephews have done the Church ever ſince* Sixtus *the Fourth. Of the Church of Chriſt, compared to a Field. Of thoſe that firſt beſtowed Riches upon the Church. Of the inſatiability of the* Nipotiſmo *in general. Of the Princes that murmur againſt the miſchiefs cauſed by the* Pope's *Nephews in* Chriſtendom. *Of the honour that Princes receive in beſtowing Revenues upon the Church. How the Scandal was firſt introduced in the Church. Of the Complaints made againſt the* Popes. *Of the* Primum movens, *that gives Motion to the Sphere of the* Nipotiſmo. *Of a Compariſon betwixt the Goſpel and the Churchmen. Of a Diſpute between*

a

a Papiſt *Preacher, and a* Proteſtant. *Of the Spirit of the* Nipotiſmo, *inclined to gather Riches. Of the impoſſibility of ſerving God and the World. Of the Excommunication of the* Lucheſes *by* Urban *the Eighth. Why men are ſo eaſily corrupted. Of an Accident that befel St.* Francis *of* Aſſiza. *Of another that befel St.* Francis *of* Paola. *Of a falſe Opinion, maintained by ſome Divines. Of a Diſcourſe held by* Ferdinand, *Great Duke of* Toſcany, *to a Pilgrim that was going to* Rome. *Of the great number of Decrees that have been made to reform the Church-men. Of the People that complain of the* Nipotiſmo. *How all* Chriſtendom *is ſcandalized by it. How the Monks exclaim againſt it, becauſe it ſtarves them. How often Princes withdraw from* Rome *diſcontented. Of the* Popes *that cannot reform the Abuſes of the Church, except they begin with their* Nephews. *Of* Alexander *the Seventh, and his auſtere Life. How the good Example he gave in the beginning of his* Pontificate, *was of great profit to the Church. Of ſome* Proteſtants *that went to* Rome *on purpoſe, upon the noiſe of his exemplary Life. How he left off hating, and fell to loving his Kindred. Of* Don Mario, *the Head of this* Nipotiſmo. *Of the Diſorder that was in* Rome, *about the Accident that befel the Duke of* Crequy. *Of the damage done to the Church by it. Of* Don Agoſtino, *and his high Carriage. Of the Cardinal* Padrone *his inclination to ſenſual Pleaſure. Of the Taxes and Oppreſſion of the* Pope's *Subjects. Of a particular Opinion about the Peoples Vices. Of the pitiful condition of the Church in* Innocentius *the Tenth's time. Of the Renunciation of the Cardinals Cap, made by the*

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Prince Pamphilio. *How* Donna Olympia *did carry her ſelf towards the* Nipotiſmo. *Of the Princes* Ludoviſio *and* Giuſtiniani. *Of the* Nipotiſmo *of* Urban *the Eighth. Of the Praiſes given to this* Nipotiſmo, *by thoſe who have writ the Life of* Urban. *Of the Policy of the Nephews of the* Popes. *Of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of the Life of* Urban. *How the Writers did diſſemble all the ill done by him. Of the* Barberins *Proceedings towards the Emperour and King of* Poland. *Of the ſcandal which the* Proteſtants *themſelves did receive from their Dealings. Of the Deſigns of* Gregory *the Fifteenth, to deſtroy the* Proteſtants. *How Cardinal* Ludoviſio *his Nephew was of another Opinion. Of the pains that* Gregory *took to get into his hands* Marc Anthony de Dominis, *who was fled to* London. *How the Prince Elector's Library was given to the* Pope. *Of the Zeal of* Paul *the Fifth towards the defence of the Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction. Of the hatred he bore to the State of* Venice. *How dangerous the Excommunication of the* Venetians *was to all* Italy. *Of the great conſtance of the* Venetian *Senate. Of the Troubles of the Church in the* Pontificate *of* Clement *the Eighth. How he oppoſed himſelf to* Henry *the Fourth King of* France. *Of that King's Reſolution. Of the Proceedings of* Sixtus *the Fifth towards his Kindred. How he baniſhed one of his Relations. Of his* Nipotiſmo, *that did the Church neither good nor harm. Of the Reſolution of* Sixtus, *to Excommunicate* Henry *the Third of* France. *How the Cardinals oppoſed it. Of that King's Death. How* Sixtus *did not much care to aſſiſt the League in* France. *Of ſome Particularities of the* Nipotiſmo

of

of Gregory *the Fifteenth. Of the great diſorder that was in* Rome *in the time of* Paul *the Fourth. Of the Cardinal* Caraffa *that died laſt: And of ſome other Particularities about other* Popes.

THat which we have ſaid in the precedent Book, is rather a Panegyrick for the *Popes* and their Nephews, than a true diſ-intereſſed Relation, becoming a Hiſtory: Therefore leſt our *Nipotiſmo* ſhould loſe its Soul, and that which will make it live, we muſt fall into our wonted indifference; and by ſaying all the ill, and all the good that can be ſaid of the *Nipotiſmo*, perſwade our Reader, as it is true, That we have no other Deſign, than to relate freely and without intereſt its concerns.

Thus doing, the *Popes* will have no reaſon to complain; ſince the ill that is ſaid, will be recompenſed by the good; and the *Romans*, or my other Readers, will not tax the Author of partiality or flattery, ſince he ſo freely writes all that comes to his knowledge for the inſtruction of the Publick.

Therefore we will treat in this Book, of all the good and all the miſchief, that the Nephews of the *Popes* have done to the Church, ever ſince *Sixtus* the Fourth. Their good actions ſhall be ſet out, that the Memory of the dead may be revived, and due Honour given to the living that deſerve it. And their ill deeds ſhall not be forgotten, that they may be hated by all Mankind; and that the Nephews of the *Popes* to come, hearing the blame they undergo, may learn to eſteem good actions, and avoid ill ones.

But the greateſt difficulty that I find in the execution of this my deſign, will be, how to ſeparate the good Corn from the Tares: For all that the *Nipotiſmo*

Potiſmo does, is thought good and juſt by them, though never ſo wicked; and the *Romans*, on the contrary, will ſcarce allow of any of their actions, though never ſo virtuous.

Chriſt has often compared in his Goſpel the Church to a Field; and indeed it was a very fit Metaphor: for, like a Field, it has always been either ſowed, or mowed; and it is a hard matter to know, whether the number of the Sowers does exceed that of the Mowers, though their Employment be very different.

But certainly we may ſay, That the *Popes* Nephews have always been the Mowers, and the reſt of Chriſtian Princes the Sowers. And as Princes have made no difficulty of taxing themſelves and their Subjects, and parting with the deareſt fruits of their labours, to give to the Church; ſo the *Pope's* Nephews have made no ſcruple of diſſipating and ſpending in their Paſtimes and Pleaſures, that which Princes had ſpared out of their own Treaſure for them.

What would *Conſtantine*, *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, the Counteſs *Mathilda*, and ſo many other Princes ſay, if they ſhould come into the World again, to ſee thoſe Lands and Revenues, which they ſo charitably gave to the Church, divided, and caſt lots for, as his Veſtments? Truly I think, that they would now think it as a pious Work, to take from the Churchmen by force, that which they had before given ſo willingly: and this becauſe they would deliver ſo many People from the intolerable oppreſſion of theſe *Nipotiſmo's*. And indeed their inſatiability is ſuch, that the Church and the State, ruined and ſpoiled as it is by ſo many hungry *Nipotiſmo's*, would ſcarce ſuffice

ſuffice for their maintenance, if Forreign Princes did not take a pride in enriching the Church by great Revenues, which are all devoured by the hungry *Nipotiſmo's*; who are very juſtly compared to the *Hydra's* Heads, whereof one was no ſooner cut off, but there ſprung ſeven worſe and more envenomed in the place.

It is a kind of a Miracle to me, to hear Princes murmur at the diſorders the *Nipotiſmo's* commit, in robbing the Church, and perverting the uſe of its Riches; And yet to ſee thoſe very ſame Princes contribute out of their own Revenues, and their Peoples Sweat and Labour, towards the enriching of thoſe that they blame.

I think it would be as great a piece of Juſtice to puniſh thoſe that are robb'd, as to chaſtiſe him that commits the Theft: For if ſo, the number of Thieves would diminiſh infinitely; ſince every body then would take as much care in preſerving, as the Thief could uſe Art in ſtealing. Whereas now every one relying upon the ſurety of the Publick Laws, and the puniſhment that attends thoſe that violate them, does as it were give an occaſion of offending againſt them; and as the Proverb ſays, *The Occaſion makes the Thief*; which is as much as to ſay, That they that are negligent in preſerving their own, are the cauſe that others have a mind to it.

If Princes following this Truth, did ſhut up their Treaſures, and ſtop that Stream of Wealth which flows from their States to *Rome*, while they ſee that it is all ill us'd, and employed to the ruine of the Church and True Religion; certainly the *Pope's* Nephews would not commit ſo many Scandals: neither would the World have ſo much reaſon to murmur againſt them.

But

But our Complaints are not like to ceaſe, while Princes ſhall think it honourable and pious to oppreſs their Subjects, that they may ſupply the Court of *Rome*: And, on the other ſide, the *Nipotiſmo* ſhall make no ſcruple of taking any thing from the Church and State, and alledge for their excuſe, *That they take nothing but what is the ſuperfluous part of the Churches Revenue.*

What do ſo many Abbies, Penſions, and other Revenues, which Princes beſtow upon Church-men, ſerve for; but to weaken ſo much their own States, and ſtrengthen another Princes? to make that which is Sacred, Profane? turn Croſſes into Swords, and Humility into Pride and Majeſty? And when they have beſtowed thus their Gifts and Preſents upon thoſe that do not need them, they are not only forſaken in their greateſt diſtreſs by Church-men; but are ſet upon by them, and brought to their ruin, that the Church may have the Soveraignty over their People, in the Place of the lawful Princes.

All the diſorders and ſcandals of the Church, State, and Church-men, take their riſe from their Riches. When the Church was poor, Church-men were holy, having nothing to employ their minds about, but the Rules of a Good Life: but ſince once Riches came amongſt them, farewell Holineſs of Life; they have not the leiſure; they are too much taken up with telling their Money, buying and ſelling Eſtates and Princedoms; they forget thoſe ſpiritual Riches of the Soul, and mind only thoſe that relate to the Pleaſures of the Body.

Riches came in by little and little upon the Church, and by the ſame degrees Sanctity and Holineſs of Life went out. They that read the Hiſtory

of the Church, cannot chuse but have discerned all along the truth of what I say.

And yet every one knowing this, and being so forward to complain and murmur against the *Popes* avarice, and their Nephews prodigality; no body thinks of blaming those that by continual Gifts do every day supply and furnish them with these Instruments of Wickedness.

Christ has declared definitively, and pronounced with his own mouth, in the sixth Chapter of Saint *Matthew*, *That it is impossible to serve God and Mammon.* Now *Mammon* being interpreted Riches by most, nay by all, the conclusion is, *That it is impossible to serve God and Riches.*

The *Popes*, on the other side, do by their continual practice prove to the World, in enriching their Families, that they are firmly perswaded, that one may at the same time serve God, and the *Mammon* or Riches of this World; or else certainly they would give over tormenting themselves, to make their Kindred great.

Riches are that *Primum Movens* which set the Sphere of the *Nipotismo* a going; and we may say, That in this Heaven of theirs, they are no less devout than poor simple Women are, to purchase that which is promised them by the Church of *Rome*: For as the one falls down before a Crucifix, and adores the Altar, to gain Indulgences; so do the *Pope's* Nephews prostrate themselves before their Treasures, and believe that they obtain the pardon of all their faults, in worshipping the Coffers in which they have buried the Churches Riches.

Now if Christ has said, *That there is no serving God and Riches*, How can the *Popes* give their Nephews

phews leave to serve Riches and God? Have the *Popes* the Power of giving our Saviour the Lie? For what is it else? For either they believe not Christ's Words to be true, or else they are resolved to contradict them in their Practice; both which are abominable to any rational or serious Christian: though I believe that in *Italy* there are thousands who, frighted by the Inquisition, would rather answer, *That Christ was mistaken in his Doctrine*, than say, *That the* Pope *does amiss in his Practice.*

About four years ago I was in *Bagni del Vallé*, a Town so called; where, amongst others, was a Father of the Order of Saint *Augustine*, by name Father *Paolo Segani*, who called himself a Preacher; though for my part I believe he was so far from being a good Divine, that he was scarce Master of the Rules of *Grammar* in the *Latin* Tongue.

This good Father was one day engaged in a Dispute with a Protestant Gentleman, about the Infallibility of the *Pope*; and there were many of both Religions present, amongst whom I was one. The *Protestant* was a *Frenchman*, called *Jean Antony Guerin*, a Doctor of Physick, and a very ingenious Gentleman; but one who excelled in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, and did so well understand all the hard Passages of it, that the Ministers of his Religion did often take great pleasure to hear him discourse with so much ability about it.

The Dispute on the Catholick's side was most spent in Words, he being able to answer to all the Protestant's Reasons with nothing but a Negative, and say, *It is not true, That is false.*

But at last, as they grew warm, the Protestant pressing closer upon him, put this Question to him,

on purpose because he saw him so ignorant. *Whether or no it were easier for Christ to have err'd in delivering his Gospel, than for the* Pope *to erre in his Decrees?*

At this the Monk smiled, and thinking to hit the nail on the head, answer'd him boldly, *That he believed that Christ, as Man, might have erred; but that the* Pope, *as God, could not erre.*

At this Answer the Protestant burst out a laughing, and so did some *Swisser* Ladies, who without doubt had more wit and discernment in matters of Religion, than this impertinent Monk. And thus the Dispute ceased; the Protestant contenting himself to have shewed the others Ignorance, and the Monk thinking he had answer'd most invincibly.

And indeed, in what Soul or Mind can this Opinion be receiv'd, That the *Pope* is more infallible than Christ; That God should fail in his Words, and a *Pope* be infallible in his Decrees? O Blasphemy, and horrible Error in the poor abus'd People! who give more credit to the *Pope's* words, than to Christ's own Gospel.

It has been observed, that in the *Popes* Families there has been Saints, even amongst their inferiour rank of their Servants; and yet there never was any of their Nephews Saints. I have turned over great Volumes of the Church-History, a purpose to see if amongst that great number of men, who are said to have performed Miracles, there were any one of a *Nipotismo* to be found amongst them: But truly I lost my pains; for the *Popes*, who have filled up the *Roman* Kalendar with thousands of Saints, have not yet been able to place one of their Nephews there. And indeed, how is it possible that they, that live in delight

delight and greatneſs, ſhould have room amongſt thoſe that have purchaſed their place in heaven by ſufferings and poverty?

And me-thinks, it is a ſad thing to obſerve for the Nephews, that all the harm the Church has received was from thoſe amongſt them that ſhewed the ſtrongeſt Propenſion to Riches and Power: whereas all the good that has been done by them comes from thoſe amongſt them that have been moderate, and contented with ordinary riches. And now if we meaſure the good by theſe moderate men, and the ill by the inſatiable, the number of the laſt being much greater than that of the firſt, will demonſtrate to us that the damage the Church receives from the *Nipotiſmo* is much greater then the good they ever did or will do to it.

In the time that *Urban* the eighth Excommunicated the *Lucheſes* for going about to repreſs the Inſolence of Church-men in their State; all the *Italian* Princes ſided with them, not out of any particular affection to them, but out of a politick reaſon, they being all concern'd in the loſs of *Lucca*, for thereby the Eccleſiaſtick State and the pride of the *Nipotiſmo* would have been encreaſed. And yet no body for all this durſt ſay any thing againſt the *Pope's* Perſon or Authority, but lay all the fault upon the *Nipotiſmo*; As one day I heard a Senator of *Venice* diſcourſing in theſe words:

Italy has little reaſon to complain of the Popes, *but it has a great deal to murmur againſt their Nephews.* Urban *would be good and holy of* Franceſco Antonio *and and* Tadeo Barberini *were not devils; but as his affection blinds him to them, ſo does their pride blind them in their conduct towards Princes. Becauſe they*

have a Vail drawn over their eyes, they think that all the world muſt be one colour. And they are ſo buſied from morning to night in diſpoſing of that vaſt Treaſure which they have already gathered, and in inventing new waies to purchaſe more, that they think not of getting the favour of thoſe Princes who will remain ſuch when the Barberins *ſhall ceaſe to be Lords and Maſters. If their Intereſt had not ſo great an Empire over them they would govern the Church better; and in a word, the Church would be in them, and not they in the Church.*

But what a ſtrange Sacrilegious opinion is that which is maintained by the Divines of the Church of *Rome*? viz. *That one who has got his riches by Extortions, and oppreſſing of the poor, and any wicked way, is not obliged to a reſtitution to the poor: But it is enough if when he dies he leaves his Eſtate to ſome Church, founds a Monaſtery, or an Hoſpital*; as if it were lawful to tranſgreſs the Law of God, and bring ones ſelf into a ſtate of damnation to ſatisfie that covetous and inſatiable humour of the Churchmen.

If the Walls of *Rome* could ſpeak, and the Fabricks of ſo many ſtately Cloyſters had mouths to make themſelves heard; if thoſe vaſt Palaces of the *Nipotiſmos* were animated; Oh! How many tenderhearted Chriſtians would be fain to forſake the City, and retire into deſarts, that they might not hear the ſtones complain for the poor, and lament their misfortune?

Ferdinand, Second Duke of *Toſcany*, having a great deal of reaſon to complain of the *Barberins* proceedings towards him, ſaid one day to one who was about to go in Pilgrimage to *Rome*: *That the holieſt Temple*

ple that he ſhould ſee there would be the Barberins *Palace, for that it was cemented and built with the bloud of many Martyrs.*

If any body in *Rome* ſhould ſteal but the value of ſix pence in his greateſt neceſſity from a Prieſt, without doubt the *Nipotiſmo*, who has the Government of the City in their hands, would cauſe him to be hang'd immediately: and yet they that rob and ſpoyl the Church go off free, and without any puniſhment.

Every day there comes out ſome new Order from the Datary-Office for the reformation of the abuſes committed by Church-men in their employments; and the *Popes* do give often particular Commiſſions to This and That Cardinal to enquire into the lives of the Monks, and take away thoſe Scandals which do every day encreaſe: And yet for all this the *Romans* obſerve, that the more the Decrees of Reformation are, the more are the Vices multiplied; the diſeaſe being ſo ſtabborn and inveterate, that it grows worſe when the Phyſician goes about to apply remedies to it.

The *Pope's* ſubjects curſe the *Nipotiſmo* for their Tyranny and Extortions. Chriſtendom is ſcandalized to ſee that they little believe that Religion of which they make ſo great Profeſſion. The Church weeps and ſheds tears to ſee its bowels gnawn and torn by the *Nipotiſmo*. The State, weakned by ſo many Taxes and Oppreſſions, ſends its cries to Heaven againſt them. The Monks exclaim, ſeeing that the *Nipotiſmo's* Avarice deprives them of their Profit, and makes them contribute towards the maintenance of their Grandeur. Princes and Embaſſadours retire diſcontented from *Rome*, not being able to endure the

Nipotiſmo's inſolence. The Altars themſelves are often forſaken and ſtand empty, the Nephews refuſing to grant Indulgences without money.

Certainly theſe abuſes, theſe diſorders, theſe ſcandals ſhould drive the *Popes* out of *Rome*. That Gardener that does only cut the top of the Weeds, and not root them out, is but an ill Gardener. But how can the *Popes* reform the abuſes of the Church, if they do not begin with their Nephews? For it would alſo elſe be a very prepoſterous Reformation that ſhould begin with the Effect, and leave the Cauſe untouched. Some ſay, that the *Popes* are holy in the Reformations of the Breviary, and the chaſtizing of the *Romans* for their faults: But they are devils in leaving the crimes of their Nephews unpuniſhed; for they truſting to their Uncles Indulgence, do ſlack the Reins, which ſhould curb the natural inclination which we all have to do ill.

But it is now time to enter into a particular Narration of the good and hurt the Church has received from the *Nipotiſmo*; and as we begun their Hiſtory at *Sixtus* the fourth, and continued it down to *Alexander* the ſeventh now reigning: So we will now begin at *Alexander*, and trace it backwards up to *Sixtus* the fourth.

The firſt miſchief, and indeed the moſt conſiderable one, cauſed by the *Nipotiſmo* of *Alexander*, was the change made by them in the *Pope*; whom from godly, pious, and inclin'd to mortification, they have made ſenſual and ambitious.

Alexander in the firſt months of his elevation to the Popedom had ſo taken upon him the profeſſion of an Evangelical life, that he was wont to ſeaſon his his meat with aſhes, to ſleep upon a hard Couch, to hate

hate Riches, Glory, and Pomp; taking a great pleasure to give audience to Embassadours in a Chamber full of dead mens skuls, and in the sight of his Coffin, which stood there to put him in mind of his death.

The Cardinals, the Princes, the Prelates, the *Romans* were all touched with so pious an Example, and did begin to think of reforming their lives. The Hereticks themselves did bear that respect to his Holiness, as to prostrate themselves in the streets, when he went through *Rome*, not so much in fear of his Majesty, as in honour of his Vertue. Divers French Protestants came on purpose to *Rome* to know whether his words did answer his reputation, and if he did really lead the life he was said to lead. The noyse of his Sanctity being so great in *France*, that it was almost impossible to believe all that was said of it.

Thus lived *Alexander*, while he lived without a *Nipotismo*: But no sooner had they set their feet in *Rome* but the *Pope* changed his nature, or rather came to himself; for instead of Humility, succeeded Vanity; his Mortification vanished, and his hard Couch, was changed into a soft Feather-bed; his dead-mens skuls, into so many Jewels; and his thoughts of death, into eternal designs of Ambition and Grandeur: Filling up his empty Coffin with Money, as if he had a design to corrupt death, and purchase life with Riches.

Hereupon a publick Minister, returning from his Audience the very same day that the *Nipotismo* came to *Rome*; and having felicitated his Holiness upon their arrival, said, as soon as he came home, to one of his friends these very words: *He is not of the same humour he was wont to be; he was us'd to stand with his*

his eyes fixed upon the ground, and now he does nothing but fix them upon Don Agostino; *Heretofore we did hear him sigh often, and now he is as inclined to laugh. I am afraid the* Nipotismo *has already spoyled him.*

This is the first harm that they have done the Church. I do not know what good they may do hereafter, but hitherto they have done so little that it is invisible; whereas the mischief they are Authors of, is obvious to all eyes. *Don Mario*, who is the *Pope's* Brother, and the Head of the *Nipotismo*, does exercise his place of Governour of *Rome* with so much Tyranny, that the City it self is become odious to many Families of quality, who have left and removed to other Towns, that they might not be any longer subject to one who gives occasion of complaint to the People, the Gentry, and Strangers; For he is not only averse from doing curtesies, and inexorable in punishments; but he is inclin'd to disgust all those who, having to do with him, do not appease his angry genius with money.

Besides, assuming to himself, in the Government of the *Borgo*, a greater Authority than does belong to him of right, he does, as it were eclipse and stifle the jurisdiction of the Governour of *Rome*; who often is forced to own those faults of which he is innocent, *Don Mario* laying upon him all the miscarriages, and taking to himself all the profit of both places. For proof of this I will bring an example which will never be forgot by Posterity.

In the time that the Duke of *Crequy* received that affront to see his Coach assaulted and fired upon by the *Pope's* Guards; the *Cardinal Imperiale*, who was then Governour of *Rome*, was so innocent of this accident, that he did not so much as know of it till

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it was paſt, and then he found that *Don Mario* had ſo engag'd him in it, that there was no retiring; and indeed though he have ſince made a Journey into *France* to juſtifie himſelf: nevertheleſs the French Court, who cannot forget the affront done the King and Nation, can leſs avoid remembring of Cardinal *Imperiale*, who was charged as the Author of it.

And yet they are very well informed that the deſign was laid by *Don Mario*, and the execution only charged upon Cardinal *Imperiale*, who has been fain to endure that humiliation and puniſhment which did belong to the other.

Indeed if the *Pope* had not in good time made ſatisfaction for the Injury, the *French* King was reſolved to ſeek his reparation by his Sword; not againſt the *Pope*, who knew nothing of the buſineſs till after it was brought about; but againſt his Brother, who had ſet *Imperiale* upon the execution of it.

But in the reparation, the Church was the moſt endammaged; for beſides the loſs of its honour, and that reſpect which was wont to be borne to it, it received a very great blow in its ſtrength and riches: for not only the *Pope's Nuncio* was immediately ſent away from the French Court, but alſo his Vice-Legat was driven from *Avignon*, and the Court of *Rome* was forced to entertain an Army all the time of the Treaty, and before, for fear of being ſurpriz'd by the Kings Forces; and when it did come to an agreement, it was concluded in a diſhonourable and ſhameful way for *Rome*, and for the Church. This is the good and profit that the Signor *Don Mario* has brought to the Church;

Church; and yet in the Articles of Peace there was little or no mention made of his perſon.

The *Pope*, for all this, is ſo pre-poſſeſſed with a good opinion of him, that he does give him thereby an occaſion, and almoſt an invitation of committing more miſchief, than he would do otherwiſe.

But if *Don Mario* has been uſeleſs, or rather prejudicial to the Church, certainly *Don Agoſtino*, his Nephew, has been little better: He is one that would ſeem to be born to an Empire; and were it *Alexander's* or *Cæſar's* he did enjoy, he would not ſhow a more lofty carriage, nor affect a greater inſolence.

When he goes through the City, he does ſo little regard any body, that he is ſcarce induced to ſalute thoſe Gentlemen that civilly do prevent him by pulling off their hats firſt: but he never begins to any body, no not to a Prince; which is ſo odious, that for that only pleaſure of ſeeing his pride abated, the Romans do wiſh the *Pope's* death.

He did, what lay in his power, to make an eternal Enemy of the Family of the *Colonna's*; which is the nobleſt and beſt beloved of *Rome*, and countenanced by the greateſt Monarchs of Chriſtendom; and if the *Pope* had not wiſely cauſed ſatisfaction to be made for the affront done to the *Colonnas* at the Theatre, the Family of the *Chigi* would have incurred the enmity of a Houſe, which in time might have been revenged, or at leaſt in the quarrel the City of *Rome* would have been divided, and in a kinde of War within its ſelf.

The Cardinal *Padrone* too on his ſide giving himſelf

ſelf too much up to ſenſual pleaſures, is the cauſe of great diſorders in the Court and Church; for all the Congregations of Cardinals, of which he is the head, are much puzled how to deal with, and humour a man, who cares for nothing leſs than that which is committed to his care. Some of the Cardinals and Prelates take example by him, and do commit great ſcandals; for which they excuſe themſelves by ſaying, *That the Cardinal* Padrone *does commit greater.* And thus betwixt them the poor Church is ill ſerv'd in both its Temporal and Spiritual.

I have nothing to ſay of the other Nephews and Kindred of the *Pope*; for ſuppoſed they had good inclinations, they have little or no occaſion to bring them to effect for the publick good, they being not admitted to any publick employment. And indeed it would be but loſs of time for any body to ſumme up the good this *Nipotiſmo* has done the Church; for it is ſo little, and their ill actions are ſo many, that it would be ſtifled by them, like good Corn by Tares.

The people is more oppreſſed than ever, the City is ill provided, and all things are dear and ſcarce; the Prelates are diſcontented, and the money it ſelf is condemned to a perpetual confinement in *Don Mario's*, and the *Nipotiſmo's* Coffers.

It is a ſtrange thing to ſee, that the *Popes* ſhould have the power to perſwade others to renounce their fortunes, to run into Monaſteries, to embrace Pilgrimages, and Mortifications; and yet not be able to perſwade a little moderation to their Nephews, and make them content themſelves with that lawful encreaſe of their Fortunes, which eve-

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ry body is well pleaſed to allow them: but they muſt ſtill be laying taxes upon the people, and diſcontent upon Princes and States.

I have a friend that is of opinion, that by the means of Indulgences, the peoples vices do daily diminiſh. I know not whether it be true or no, but I am ſure that the *Nipotiſmos* do daily increaſe, they little caring for Indulgences, and being of opinion, that the *Pope* is obliged to open them the door of Paradiſe by force. And though this may be taken as a facetious conceit, yet I am certain that the *Nipotiſmos* in good earneſt do little frequent Churches, but are more employed in getting of money, and taking their pleaſure.

But now it is time to ſpeak of *Innocentius* the 10th. his *Nipotiſmo*, of which it may be ſaid, that it did a little good, and no hurt; becauſe it was alwayes under the *Popes* diſgrace, and *Donna Olympia's* oppreſſion; ſo that none of it were able to ſhow either their malice or their bounty, if they had any: for that good which they did do, may be as well interpreted to proceed from a deſign of winning the peoples favour, to whom only they could have recourſe in their diſgrace, as from any good Principles of their own.

But however it were, the poor Church was never the better; for what between *Innocentio's Capriccios*, and *Donna Olympia's* tyranny, it was moſt miſerably governed; and the Court brought into ſuch a diſorder, that the like was never ſeen before, nor I hope will not be hereafter: ſince the impreſſion and mark of thoſe blows which it received then are ſtill to be ſeen in the face of the Church, and will appear to fright all thoſe that

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ſhould go about to bring a like ſcandal upon it.

And firſt the renunciation of the Cardinals Cap made by Prince *Pamphilio*, though it were in it ſelf a very neceſſary action, for the preſervation of the *Pamphilian* Family, was nevertheleſs ſcandalous and injurious to the Churches reputation; the more becauſe being made without his Uncle's conſent, it ſo looked as if this eminent Dignity of Cardinal were a thing to make ſport with, and a profeſſion as eaſily caſt off without ſhame, as it is ordinarily conferred without merit.

But this had been but an inconſiderable fault, which would have been forgiven without pain in this diſorderly age, if all Chriſtendom had not been offended by the tyrannical government of the proud *Donna Olympia*; who having uſurped that power which the *Popes* do ordinarily confer on the *Nipotiſmo*, had brought them to ſuch a deſperate caſe, that they did almoſt revolt againſt their Uncle; whoſe humorſome fancy did make ſuch work by diſplacing one, and putting in another, ſometimes a true, ſometimes a falſe Nephew, and ſometimes governing without any at all, that the moſt patient and unconcern'd ſpectator could not behold ſo capricious a Prince without indignation.

The *Nipotiſmo* being by *Donna Olympia*'s means depriv'd of the power of doing good, had nevertheleſs the faculty of doing miſchief left them; and the Lady would have been well pleaſed with it, for ſhe did ſeek after all occaſions of making them odious to the *Pope*, and to every body elſe: but they perceiving her deſign, became good, or at leaſt innocent, out of ſpight, that the imputation of

of all the miſcarriages might fall upon her alone, they being not diſpoſed to bear a part of the pain, who had none in the pleaſure.

For this reaſon the Prince *Pamphilio* was alwayes moſt obliging and ready to ſerve the Church, and thoſe that requir'd his aſſiſtance; giving therein demonſtrations of his good nature, and hopes that he might one day rule better with his natural ſimplicity and equity, then *Donna Olympia* with her refin'd, but wicked policies.

So the two Princes *Ludoviſio*, and *Giuſtiniani* did behave themſelves with all care and circumſpection, out of a deſign of pleaſing the vulgar; ſince they could not be admitted to pleaſe their Uncle, whoſe affections they had loſt, without having any thing laid to their charge that might deſerve ſo ſevere a puniſhment. Let us therefore conclude the innocence of this *Nipotiſmo*, who never had the power of doing any good, nor the convenience of doing any harm to the Church; which nevertheleſs was ſeverely handled by that impudent and covetous *Donna Olympia*.

Now let us go a ſtep higher, and come to the *Nipotiſmo*, of *Urban*, or the reign of the *Barberins*; who ſeemed to be born for the Empire of the world: and of them indeed there is much to be ſaid. For in the ſpace of three and twenty years, there was occaſion for every one of them to ſhow his parts and inclinations, and make the world acquainted with their temper.

They that have writ the life of *Urban*, having propoſed to themſelves no other deſign than that of pleaſing the *Barberins*, do make perpetual Encomiums of his good actions, but paſs ſilently all his

his ill ones, that they might not loſe that favour, which to purchaſe they had undertaken to tranſmit ſuch groſs flatteries to poſterity.

There is no doubt but *Urban* did very much advantage the Church and State, enriching them with a great number of Hoſpitals, Churches, Colledges, Libraries, Caſtles, Forts, Altars, Temples, Canonizations, and Beatifications: but if we conſider the greatneſs of his viſible Revenue, for the ſpace of three and twenty year, we ſhall finde that his expences are inconſiderable compared to it.

I am acquainted with a Roman, who had the curioſity for two years together to inform himſelf of all the expences of the *Barberins* in the Pontificate of their Uncle, that is, of all the money they had laid out both for the Church and their own Family, and found by computation, that the publick expenſe conſiſted in nine millions and a half of Crowns; and their viſible private one in twelve.

Let it not ſeem ſtrange to any one, if I ſay viſible, for every body knows, that the great policy of the *Niptoiſmo* conſiſts in hiding their own expenſes, and publiſhing thoſe that they are at for the Church; whoſe rotten Walls they ordinarily plaiſter over with a little Lime and Water, while they build new ones for themſelves, covering them with ſome ſad colour that they may hide the expenſe.

They that will pleaſe themſelves, let them read the Life of *Urban*, which has been inſerted among the reſt of the Lives of the *Popes*, compoſed by *Platina*, and there they will meet with ſuch a quantity of his good works, that they cannot chuſe but eſteem him as one of the holieſt *Popes* that ever

was; but they that are otherwise inform'd, are mov'd to laugh both at the *Pope* and the Author.

There you shall meet with nothing but, that the *Pope* visited such a Church, confirmed such a Decree of his Predecessor, gave the people his Benediction from the Church of St. *Jean* of *Lateran*, visited the Hospital of the Trinity, made a great exhortation to the Bishops, excited the Monks to reform, beautified St. *André Avellino*, received Ambassadors with great state, opened the Holy Year with Magnificence, consecrated the Church of the *Vatican*, gave the title of Cardinalate to the Church of St. *Charles*, re-built the Colledge of the Grecians, *&c.*

But all this while not a word of the Progress of *Gustave Adolfe* in *Germany*, of the Turk in the other parts of Christendom (while the *Pope* lets them both alone) of the excommunication of the Duke of *Parma*, of that of the State of *Lucca*, of the affront done to the State of *Venice*, of the disrespect show'd to the Crown of *France* in divers occasions, of the War begun in *Italy*, of the Catholick Keligion declining in *Poland*, of the Artifices used in the War of the *Valtolina*, and in a word, of so many miscarriages, and offences given to *Rome*, the State, and all Christendom, by the extravagant passions of the *Barberins*: Of all this I say there is not a syllable, nor the least mention.

Every one knows that *Germany*, the Empire, and the Catholick Religion were upon the brim of their ruine, for want of succour; and yet at that very time the *Barberins* did make War upon the Princes of *Italy*, with the treasure of the Church; their

their minde being more bent upon the raiſing of their Family, than upon the conſervation of Chriſtendom,

And the miſchief was, that they did ſo beſiege the *Pope*, that there was no means of informing him of the deplorable ſtate of the Affairs of Chriſtendom; for neither the Emperour, nor the King of *Poland* could ever obtain any anſwer to their demands, which I believe never came to the knowledge of the *Pope*, no more than their dangers. The *Nipotiſmo* anſwering their Ambaſſadors conformably to their own intereſt, without any regard to the Fatherly and Paſtoral care, to which their Uncle was bound by the duty of his place.

But that which was worſt of all, was, that they did not openly refuſe their help, but by delayes and promiſes keeping ſtill the Emperour and King of *Poland* in hopes, they made them neglect to make peace with their Enemies, and refuſe thoſe conditions, which elſe they would have accepted, had not the *Barberins* entertain'd them with the hopes now of an Army, then of a great ſumme of Money; and at laſt diſappointed them of all.

However the people of the State belonging to the Church were the worſe for it; for the *Barberins* taking occaſion from the obligation the *Pope* was in, to aſſiſt theſe Princes, did thereupon lay moſt heavy Taxes and Impoſitions upon both Church-men and Layes: The ſimple people ſtirred up by the exhortations of ſome Preachers who made it their buſineſs to declare in their Sermons, That God could not be better pleaſed then by that aſſiſtance given to the diſtreſſed Catholicks, did ſell all their Jewels and preciouſeſt Houſhold-ſtuff

to give away to those that had the Commission of gathering their Benevolence.

Out of these summes which were thus raised, the *Barberins* did send it may be one or two in the hundred, and this after so long waiting, and by such chargeable wayes, that half of the money was absorbed in the exchange: which the Emperour and King of *Poland* having perceived, they were fain to give over their soliciting the *Barberins*, and defend themselves as well as they could.

The Protestants themselves, though much rejoycing at the decaying state of the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, were nevertheless infinitely scandalized at the *Pope's* proceedings, saying, as it was true, *That the* Barberins *did the Catholicks more mischief by denying them succour with such dilatory wayes, than the Protestants by the force of Arms.*

In a word, I think it is not a hard thing to perswade that the *Barberins* in the time of their reign did the Church a great deal of mischief; it would be much a harder to convince any body of the good they have done: and it is so difficult a business, that for my part I shall not undertake it; only I will give the *Barberins* this good counsel, which is, that if they desire to make posterity lose the memory of their ill conduct under their Uncle, they endeavour to get Cardinal *Francesco Barberino* made *Pope* after the death of *Alexander*; for so it may be, that as in their Uncle's time they did much more hurt then good, they will under Cardinal *Francesco*, who is pious and vertuous do more good than hurt.

There is an example of this already in the two *Popes* of the Family of *la Rovere*; *Sixtus* the 4th.

4th. and *Julius* the ſecond; for in the time of *Sixtus*, the *Nipotiſmo* was moſt highly guilty towards the Church, and did much harm, and little good; but under *Julius* it did much good, and little harm: ſo the ſame thing may happen for the *Barberins*, if *Franceſco* be made *Pope*.

Gregory the 15th. who was *Urban*'s Predeceſſor, lived to do miſchief enough, but it ſeems had no time to do good: of the four parts of the Popedom his Nephew had three, and he one.

All this Popes thoughts were bent upon the Proteſtants ruine, particularly, he had a ſpight to *Geneva*, calling it the neſt of the Devil; and therefore he preſſed the Duke of *Savoy* to beſiege it, promiſing him great ſuccors of men and money. He likewiſe aſſiſted with all might and main the Emperour in his War againſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*. He failed not to ſolicit the King of *France* to torment and moleſt the *Huguenots* of his Kingdom, and prevailed with him to do it: which coſt him dear, and had like to have proved fatal to his Monarchy, though at laſt he remained victorious.

The Cardinal *Ludoviſio* his Nephew, quite contrary, did what lay in his power, to quell in his Uncle, this unmeaſurable deſire of ruining the Proteſtants, and engaging all Chriſtendom into bloody Wars; but the *Pope* would never hearken to any thing that he could ſay about that particular, anſwering him alwayes in theſe words, *'Tis enough that I let you do what you will with the Catholicks; pray let me have the liberty of doing what I pleaſe againſt the Hereticks our enemies.*

His Remonſtrances to Ambaſſadors upon this Subject, were ſo frequent at every audience that

they were tired with them; and when sometimes the Cardinal *Ludovisio* would interpose, and say something to qualifie the heat of the *Pope's* exaggerations, he would command him to hold his tongue; and sometimes say to him, you have a touch of an Heritick in you.

He did all his endeavours by a thousand plots and Artifices, to reduce *England* again under the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, but all to no purpose: at last, seeing himself disappointed in this his main design after such pains and expense, he resolved to get back to *Rome*. *Marc Antony de Dominis*, who in the time of *Paul* the fifth *Gregories* Predecessor, had left *Italy*, and was fled into *England*; where, having declared himself Protestant, he did write many shrewd books against the *Pope*, and the Court of *Rome*, as one who was well informed of all its disorders.

The *Pope*, the better to compass his intention, sent to *London* certain Prelates disguised, who had been heretofore intimate with *Marc Antony*. These, coming to him secretly, promised him not only the *Pope's* and the Churches pardon; but also assured him, that he should be made Cardinal at the next promotion. The Archbishop, trusting to the Oaths and Engagement of these Prelates, left *England*, and return'd once more to *Rome*, where he made a recantation of all his Errours, as they call'd them; But a little after, being carefully watched by the *Pope's* Spies, they took hold of some words that he said; and having clapt him up in the Inquisition Prison, began to question him for Heresie; and without doubt he had undergone the dreadful fire of the *Roman* Purgatory, if timely death had not prevented the *Pope's* revenge.

In

In a word, this *Pope* had undertaken the ruine of all Proteſtant Princes; wherefore he ſent great Succours to the Emperour in his war againſt the Prince *Palatine* of *Rhine*, who after ſome reſiſtance was driven out of his Country, and proclaimed Traytor to the Empire: whereupon his dignity of Prince Elector was conferred upon *Maximilian*, Duke of *Baviere*, a Catholick Prince, much protected by the *Pope*.

And the Emperour, in acknowledgment of the *Pope's* zeal and affection, preſented him with the Prince *Palatines* Library, eſteemed, for the great number of Manuſcripts in all Tongues, one of the moſt famous of all *Europe:* The *Pope*, having thanked his Imperial Majeſty, cauſed the Library to be tranſported to *Rome* with great charge and expence; and as ſoon as it came, he ſolemnly ſanctified it with his bleſſing, and ſo laid it up.

Paul the fifth was almoſt of the ſame humour, though he did not undertake things ſo raſhly, but would wiſely conſider the good and evil that might come of them. It is believed, that in his time an infinite number of Hereticks return'd to the Church of *Rome*; but I am ſure, that above a hundred *Italian* Families forſook their Country, and withdrew into Proteſtant Princes Territories, where they might freely follow the Rites of their Religion. Particularly, they went to *Geneva*, where great numbers reſorted every day, and above all many *Lucheſes*, of which ſome are now aggregated amongſt the principal Families of that City.

This *Pope*, though ſo zealous for the Church, was nevertheleſs very Indulgent to his Family, who did uſurp a power and authority, as prejudicial to the Church as it was offenſive to Princes; with whom the

Borgheſes, as well as the *Barberins*, would often enter into conteſt.

In the time of this *Pope*, *Italy* had like to have ſeen ſixteen Cities of it become Proteſtants, as Monſieur *De Lion*, the French King's Embaſſadour told the *Pope*; and thus the occaſion was:

Paul *and his Kindred, for I know not what reaſons, did bear a ſecret grudge to the State of* Venice, *and did wait for nothing more than for ſome occaſion of ſhewing their ſpleen; and it falling out that the State of* Venice, *according to their ancient Form of Government, did put ſome Church-men in Priſon; the* Pope *upon the notice of it excommunicated not only the Senate, but the whole Nation of the* Venetians, *as if they had been guilty of their Magiſtrates fault. But theſe wiſe Senators were not ſo eaſily daunted, but reſolving either to preſerve their power and authority within their Government, or to hazard the ruine of it, ſet ſome of their Divines on work to write againſt the* Pope's *authority, and his Excommunication; which writings did then, and have ſince produced ſo great an effect in the minds of moſt men, that now there is not any little Prince of* Italy *that cares for the* Popes *Excommunication, as it has been clearly ſeen by the examples of the Duke of* Parma, *the Commonwealth of* Lucca, *the Duke* Charles *of* Lorain, *and many others.*

The conſtancy of the *Venetians* was invincible in this occaſion, and ſo great, that they ſent the *Pope* word, *That if he did not recall his Excommunication they would provide for their own preſervation by ſuch remedies as ſhould become the dignity of their State, and its ancient Majeſty.*

And that they might the ſooner bring the *Pope* to their deſires, they politickly ſent to *Geneva* to require that

that City to ſend them ſome of their moſt able Miniſters to inſtruct them in the Proteſtant Religion. This Artifice having frighted the *Pope* into a condeſcendency, he was fain to come to an agreement very diſadvantageous for the honour of the Sea of *Rome*.

If this *Pope* had not been ſo unjuſtly ſevere towards the State of *Venice*, he would have left a much better name behind him. For to ſay truth, he did the Church much more good than evil: but it was, and will be, a great ſpot to his reputation to have gone about to undo the Bulwark of Chriſtendom: for ſuch has the State of *Venice* alwaies been reputed.

We muſt be forced to skip *Leo* the eleventh (for his ſhort life gave him no time to do good, and hindred him from doing any harm to the Church) and come to *Clement* the eighth, who was a *Pope* that lived both with his Kindred, and for them a good while.

Chriſtendom was involved in great troubles when he came to the Pontificate, there being nothing but Wars and Diviſions. The Turks did aſſault *Germany*, and the Proteſtants did torment the reſt of the Catholick Princes; beſides that, the baniſh'd Criminals of the Kingdom of *Naples* had made themſelves Maſters of a great part of it, and ſpread themſelves over all the Country. The *Pope's* main end, amongſt all theſe diſorders, was firſt to provide for his Kindred; and that care took up ſo much of his time and treaſure, that he was not in a condition to ſuccour thoſe Princes that were fighting for the defence of that Religion of which he was the Head.

In the mean time the *Spaniards*, who had a mind to

to hinder *Henry* King of *Navar* from poſſeſſing the Crown of *France*, which he was lawful Heir of; foreſeeing that of themſelves they would not be able to reſiſt *Henry*'s Right, nor hold out againſt ſo generous and warlike a Prince, they did their utmoſt Endeavours to get the *Pope* on their ſide, and declare againſt the King of *Navar*, as againſt an Heretick, and by conſequent incapable of receiving the Crown.

At firſt, the *Pope* refuſed to engage openly in a buſineſs which would be neceſſarily expenſive and troubleſom; and therefore for a while he let the *Spaniards* alone, hoping that of themſelves they would be ſtrong enough to effect the Work without him: But they having perceived his intention, ſoon made a breach in it by the means of the *Nipotiſmo*, which they gained; and at whoſe perſwaſion the *Pope* ſent an Army under the Conduct of *Appio Conti*, who was kill'd in an Encounter by ſome of *Henry*'s Forces.

The Catholick Princes of the Realm of *France*, who were on *Henry*'s ſide, together with the greateſt part of the Nation, ſent upon this the Marquis of *Piſani* to *Rome*, to deſire the *Pope* to recall his Army, and not to oppoſe a Prince who had promiſed to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion: But the *Pope* not only refuſed their Requeſt, but would not ſo much as endure that the Marquis ſhould ſet his foot in any part of the State of the Church.

Things being in this poſture, *Henry* at laſt reſolved to daſh all his Adverſaries Machines to pieces at one blow; and therefore he ſolemnly renounced his Hereſie, and was reconciled to the Church: So in ſpite of the *Pope* and the *Spaniards*, he obtained a Crown, which could never have encompaſſed a more worthy Head than his. After this, the *Pope*'s Army was

was fain to retire, having done little or nothing.

The ſame hapned in *Flanders*, whither he ſent another Army to help the *Spaniards* againſt the *United Provinces*, who, ſince the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had obtained many Victories; but it was with as little ſucceſs as the firſt: So that the *Pope*, weary of ſpending the Treaſure of the Church to no purpoſe, commanded his Forces home, leaving the *Spaniards* to look after their own Affairs.

The Expences of this *Pope* were exorbitant; for he did undertake every thing raſhly, and more out of *Capriccio*, than ripe judgment and deliberation: So that he undoubtedly did the Church more hurt than good.

There is little to be ſaid of *Innocent* the Ninth, *Gregory* the Fourteenth, and *Urban* the Seventh; for the greateſt miſchief they did the Church, was, that they liv'd ſo little. We will therefore come to *Sixtus* the Fifth.

The *Nipotiſmo* of this *Pope* was one of the moſt innocent ones that ever was ſeen; for he hindred them from taking any part in the Government: So that they were in the Court, like Beggars at a Church door, of whom few People take notice.

Not that he was ſo ſevere, as to hinder them from a ſhare in his Fortune; for he did beſtow large Revenues upon them all: obſerving nevertheleſs, to refuſe always every thing that they begg'd, and to give them when they leaſt thought of it. He did much affect this ſort of Generoſity, or rather Soverainty; for he never ſuffered any of his Relations to put their hands into his Coffers; nay, he was ſo abſolute, that once he baniſhed a Kinſman of his, becauſe he found his Houſe better furniſhed, than it could be by thoſe Grati-

Gratifications which he had received from the *Pope*, who uſed no more words with him but theſe, *We have given you ſo much, and you have ſo much; How came you by the reſt?* And ſo without delay he baniſh'd him, and divided his Fortune amongſt his other Relations.

If the Nephews of other *Popes* become rich, it is by the abuſe they make of that Authority which they uſurp in the *Pope's* Name. But it was not ſo with the *Nipotiſmo* of *Sixtus*; for he never gave blindly, but with his eyes open, and diſcreetly: And if there were any Error committed in their growing rich, it was the *Pope* that was the Author of it, and not they, who were meerly paſſive, and did but receive their Uncles Liberalities.

There is no doubt, but that under this *Pope* the Church received much more benefit than damage; for the *Nipotiſmo* having no Power, could not be otherwiſe than good and innocent; and the *Pope* himſelf was ſo wiſe and vertuous a Prince, that there were few Miſcarriages in his time; if we except that only occaſion, in which *Sixtus*, by his too haſty Excommunication of King *Henry* the Third of *France*, brought the Church in danger of loſing for ever ſo noble and flouriſhing a part of *Chriſtendom*; as it had hapned already, by the raſhneſs of one *Pope*, that the Kingdom of *England* was entirely loſt, only becauſe *Clement* the Seventh would not yield a little of his Authority. And indeed, I think, the greateſt blemiſh upon the Reputation of *Sixtus* is, that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſo far tranſported with anger, as to Excommunicate *Henry* the Third of *France*, for having cauſed the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be killed, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon,

ſon, with the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who were indeed all three Traytors to the Kingdom, and Conſpirators againſt the Royal Perſon of *Henry*.

The Conſiſtory of Cardinals did oppoſe this violent Reſolution of *Sixtus*, by remonſtrating to him the terrible conſequence of it, and the danger that all the Church would incur by the loſs of ſo noble a Chriſtian Kingdom.

But the *Pope* laughing at all this, anſwered the Cardinals in this manner; *If therefore you will have it ſo, we will bring it to paſs, that from henceforward you ſhall be neither honour'd nor reverenc'd by Princes nor Kings; but deſpis'd, vilified, and expoſed to the hands both of the Oppreſſor, and the Executioner. Certainly, if the killing of Cardinals be conniv'd at, and paſs'd over without reſentment and chaſtiſement, it may very eaſily become the Caſe of every one of you. However, we will rather do that which Juſtice requires, though you little care that Reaſon be done for the Violence committed, not ſo much againſt you, as the Sacred Purple.*

Nevertheleſs, the *Pope* was wary, not to precipitate things ſo ſuddenly; but ſuffered five Months to paſs, after the death of the Cardinal of *Guiſe*: during which interval, he made by Letters ſeveral Admonitions to the King; all which proved to no purpoſe, the King being reſolute not to free the Cardinal out of Priſon, which the *Pope* ſo vehemently urged. Whereupon, ſeeing he could not prevail, he thundered out the greater Excommunication, with all the accuſtomed Forms, againſt the King, and againſt all thoſe who in the ſaid matter ſhould afford Counſel to, or in any manner whatſoever aſſiſt him. Beſides which, he alſo cited the ſaid King

to

to make his personal Appearance at *Rome*, within the term of seventy days, there to give account of the Death of the Cardinal of *Guise*, and the Imprisonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The King conceived great indignation upon this proceeding of the *Pope*, and began to advise with the Prelates, Bishops, and Counsellors of greatest trust with him, how to ward off such a Storm; and things were carried so far, that the Council-Royal seem'd resolv'd to create a Patriarch in *France*, particularly for the *Gallicane* Church, who should not in any wise be subject to, or have so much as the least Communication with the Church of *Rome*: And 'tis likely the *French*, who affect Novelties, would not have been backward to close with this Resolution.

But whilst Matters went on in this manner, it so came to pass, that the King, as he lay with a great Army at S. *Cloud*, two Leagues from *Paris*, was on the first day of *August*, in the year 1569. wounded in the belly with a two-edged Knife, by a Dominican Fryar named *Jaques Clement* Native of the City of *Lans*, and of the age of twenty three years, as he was receiving Letters from the hand of the said Friar, who was upon his knees; of which Wound he died within fourteen hours, in regard his Entrals were pierc'd, having imploy'd this short in ordering such things as concerned his Soul.

This Murder hapned seventy eight days after the Summons by the *Pope* for his Appearance at *Rome*, within seventy days; and his Holiness rejoyced not a little at it, since hereby the displeasure, which the Consistory of Cardinals, the People, and Nobility had conceiv'd against him, as one that car'd not much

to

to see the destruction of a Kingdom, which would breed disturbance to the common quiet of *Italy*, from Age to Age, both by Sea and Land.

Great were the Stirs which succeeded in *France* after the King's death; inasmuch as *Henry* King of *Navar*, next Heir to the Crown, began to endeavour the possession thereof, by warring against the Lords of the *Ligue*, who were back'd and upheld by the *Spaniards*, by whom the Succession of *Henry* was infinitely opposed.

In these Commotions and Broils of *France*, the *Pope* gave not those Assistances to the *Ligue*, which they expected and required; and this upon several accounts, but especially because he would not condescend to the Instances of the Cardinals and the *Spaniards*, who much solicited him; giving them this Answer, *When we were against the dead* Henry, *all you were our Opponents*; *Now that you would persecute the living* Henry, *we will not side with you, for the sake of our own Interest.*

It was not a little displeasing to the King of *Spain*, that the *Pope* did not succour the *Ligue*, nor declare Excommunicate those Princes and Prelates that followed the side of *Navar*; so that the King resolv'd to make some Protestations to the *Pope* concerning this Tergiversation. But his Holiness wanted not Pretexts to fence with, and in a manner made sport with those *Spanish* Cardinals, who importun'd him either to unite with the *Ligue*, or send considerable Assistance to it.

Gregory the Thirteenth had Nephews, who did not degenerate from the Name of *Buoncompagno*; that is to say, they little car'd to do good, and less to do evil. Nevertheless, according to the Instinct which

which seems natural to *Pope's* Nephews, this Family of *Buoncompagno* could not restrain it self from disgusting some of the principal Persons of the City, by the death of two Gentlemen, pretended to be slain by accident, through the indiscretion of the *Sbirri* or Serjeants. A Policy observed by all Nephews, to colour their vindicative Outrages upon all occasions.

From hence it may be gathered, That the intention of the *Buoncompagni* propended more to Evil than to Good; and accordingly they fail'd not to give Instances of the former, though 'tis hard to find any of the latter.

But if Nephewship ever did good in *Rome*, 'twas in the time of *Pius* the Fifth, when all the Proceedings of the Nephews were directed to Good, in regard they wanted Spirit to gainsay the good intention of this *Pope*; who could not endure to see them in *Rome*, out of a jealousie, that being fatned with the Treasure of the Church, they might fall into the same wicked Road, which had been trodden out by so many others.

Paul the Fourth (for there is not much to be said of *Pius* the Fourth) took not the same course; for he advanc'd a Nephew, who for the space of neer five years, knew not how to do any thing but evil, and evil so enormous, that his Unle was forced to drive him out of *Rome*, and his Successor to put him to death in *Rome*.

In the beginning of this *Pope*'s Reign, the Murthers, Rapes, Violences, Robberies, Cheats, Injustices, and a thousand other Enormities and Vices, which surrounded the Ecclesiastical State, to the damage of all *Christendom*, were attributed to the *Pope*, who had set up his Kindred in *Rome*; whom after

after the *Pope* had baniſhed the City, his Holineſs's Reputation ſeem'd to revive in the hearts of the Catholicks, who had been ſcandalized at him, and now ſaw, that all the Miſchiefs were to be attributed to the *Pope's* wicked Relations.

'Tis a ſtrange thing, That amongſt ſo many Nephews great and ſmall of the Houſe of *Caraffa*, into whoſe hand the *Pope* had put the Government of the Church, there ſhould not be one into whoſe head ever came ſo much as a ſingle thought to do any manner of good to the Church, to *Chriſtendom*, or to the afflicted State Eccleſiaſtical.

The miſchief which the Nephews of *Pope Caraffa* brought to the Church, or rather to the whole World, was ſo great, that to this preſent day the People of *Rome* retain a certain impreſſion of hatred againſt all that bear the Name of *Caraffa*, however Noble Gentlemen; it not being poſſible for any ſo much as to behold one of them, without regret and averſion.

Cardinal *Caraffa* was twice in danger (I ſay, in danger; for in him the *Papacy* would have been endanger'd) to be *Pope*; Once at the time of the Election of *Innocent*, and before at that of *Urban*: But at both times he was excluded, for the ſole conſideration of his being of the Family of *Caraffa*; the very Name whereof, in remembrance of the Nephews of *Paul* the Fourth, remains extremely odious both to ſmall and great.

Otherwiſe, the Cardinal in himſelf was a Perſon of merit, and vertue ſufficient, to enable to aſcend to ſuch a Dignity, as well as thoſe others that have aſcended in his place. Some excluded him, becauſe they doubted leſt the *Caraffi* would turn once again to the *Sicut erat*, that is, to aggrandize themſelves

at the cost of the Church, and the damage of all *Christendom*; and so much the more, in regard the number of the said Cardinal's Nephews was so great, that even himself could hardly count them; notwithstanding that he did what he could to make it believed, that he was wholly free from personal interest, as well as that of blood.

Long would the discourse be, and infinite the words, if I were obliged to give account of the Nephews of all the *Popes*, one after another (according to the order begun) down to *Sixtus* the fourth: to whom, as being the Introducer, not of the *Nipotismo* it self into *Rome*, but of the Pride and boundless Authority thereof, may be justly attributed all the Evil, which, for the two last Ages, the Nephews of *Popes* have caused to the Church.

Wherefore, I will for the present omit to make a distinct survey of the mischiefs of the other; partly, because I know not readily how to discover the good of any; and partly, because my heart will not suffer me to view, without tears, the Evil of all; which is the more grievous, because irremediable.

What might I say of *Marcellus* the second, who lived but a short time, and gave no authority to his Nephews? Or what of *Julius* the third, who minded nothing else but Feasting, sometimes with one, sometimes with another; and kept his Kindred at *Rome*, rather to accompany him to Entertainments, than to assist him in the Government of the Church, which he little heeded?

What Discourse shall I make of *Paul* the Third, who would have had the *Farnesian* Lillies turned the State of the Church into one sole Garden for their own use? Or of *Clement* the Seventh, who out of a *Capriccio*

priccio loſt the Kingdom, by refuſing to grant *Henry* the Eighth of *England* a Divorce from *Catherine*, and a Licence to marry *Anne Bouillon*, with whom he was in love? What praiſe ſhall I attribute to *Adrian* the Sixth, a great Enemy to his own Relations, and perpetually averſe from the introducing of a *Nipotiſmo*?

What ſhall I ſay of *Leo* the Tenth, of the moſt Noble Family of the *Medici*? Where ſhall I find the good which he did to the Church, ſpoiling other Princes of their States, to transfer them to his own Houſe? What Title ſhall we give to *Julius* the Second, of whom it was not known whether he were inclin'd to the hatred or love of his Relations? What ſhall I ſay of *Pius* the Third, who liv'd not long enough to receive the Viſits of his Kindred?

But if there be not much to be ſaid of the forementioned *Popes*, there is a ſuper-abundance of matter to be ſaid of *Alexander* the Sixth, whoſe very memory raiſes horror in the breaſts of the *Romans*, even to this day. It ſeems God Almighty thought fit to chaſtiſe *Chriſtendom* with the barbarity of this *Pope*, who, not contented with his own cruel, covetous, and inſatiable nature, introduc'd a *Nipotiſmo* not degenerating from the manners of their Uncle.

Amongſt the other *Popes* and their Nephews, was ſeen, though in the midſt of much ill, ſome ſpark and glimmering of good; whereas in the Perſon of *Alexander* and his Nephews, was never perceptible the leaſt ray of good, amidſt a vaſt Ocean of evil; deplorable even by future Ages, not only to thoſe which were ſo unhappy as to ſee him living.

Some ſtrongly believed, That this *Barbarian Pope* had ſworn himſelf, and caus'd his Kindred likewiſe to

ſwear, *Never to do good to the Church.* And they had reaſon to think ſo, whilſt no ſort of Reaſon prevailed with him, or any of them, who acted all things with an Authority not otherwiſe limited than by their own unbridled Paſſion.

He would not allow that the City of *Rome* ſhould enjoy certain holy priviledges peculiar to it alone; and therefore in the year 1500, having publiſh'd an Univerſal *Jubile*, he granted more Indulgences to thoſe that ſtaid at home than to thoſe who, as the cuſtom is, came to viſit the Churches of *Rome*, ordain'd for that purpoſe.

Nevertheleſs, ſome were willing to think that he did this out of good policy, as doubting leſt, all the people of Chriſtendom being already offended with the wicked carriage of his Sons, there might happen at *Rome*, amidſt the variety and confuſion of ſundry Nations, ſome reſolution to the prejudice of all his Houſe. But ſuch reaſons had no place in his mind; for thoſe that came to *Rome*, were led thither by devotion; and the diverſity of Nations hinders the Union of a People that would take Arms againſt their Lord.

The principal cauſe lay in his own humour, which was cruel and totally averſe from doing good to any others beſides his own Relations: And whereas by ſo great a concourſe the *Romans* were likely to gain ſomething by the traffick of holy Merchandiſe, to wit, Medals, Crowns, and other conſecrated works, beſides the Rent of Lodgings, and ſale of Proviſions; He would not that they ſhould enjoy this benefit, although the hindrance of it was accompanied with loſs both to himſelf, the Church of St. *Peter*, and the Office of the Datary.

All

All the good he did to the Church, was, that he shew'd himself very liberal to Writers and Learned men of all sorts; not out of any natural inclination towards them, but only to oblige them to write well of himself and his Kindred. And accordingly there were some infamous Writers (as I may deservedly call them) who made comparison between his Raign and that of *Alexander*, with a parallel of the qualities of these two persons. Amongst the rest one made a Book, intituled, *The glories of the Papacy of* Alexander *the Sixth and the* Borgian *Family*. God give a thousand ill years to such Writers, who flatter falsly, and at their pleasure make Angels of Devils, and Saints of Tyrants.

An other good thing which this *Pope* seem'd to do to the City of *Rome*, was, that there being a great dearth in the State, he caused great plenty of corn to be brought from *Sicily*, and by this means render'd the City very plentifully stored. But 'twas not any affection for the people that induc'd him to it, but he did it out of consideration of great profit to himself; for he sold corn at *Rome* for double the price it cost in *Sicily*, trading with the Churches money, and putting the gain into the purse of his Bastards. Whence it may be concluded, that he never had any intention to do good to the publick.

Innocent the eighth, of the house of *Cibo*, was as benign and inclin'd to do good, as *Alexander* was cruel and addicted to do evil. The truth is, *Innocent*, who gave neither Offices nor Riches to his Relations, but with moderation (as I have said in due place) was a *Pope* worthy of that time, when Christendom seem'd to be threatned with most heavy calamities.

This man studied from morning to night how to procure benefit to the Church, ease to the People, and comfort to the Catholicks; so that no sooner was any thing mention'd to him, but he presently answer'd, *So be that it bring good to the Publick.* From whence it may easily be gather'd, that all his motions tended to do good, and were far from the design of doing evil.

He rewarded all those Cardinals who had nominated and promoted him to the Papal Chair. To the Monastick Orders he granted particular favours and priviledges, especially to that of St. *Dominique* and St. *Francis*. He lightned the Church, and likewise the Palace and Court of all superfluous expenses. He us'd great charity towards the Poor. He lov'd his Country, and caus'd most ample satisfaction to be given to the *Genoeses* who had been ill treated during the vacancy of the See. He honour'd, and requir'd others to honour all extraneous Nations of the World; insomuch that the Turk himself sent an Embassadour to him with some Presents, meerly because he had understood this generous demeanour of the *Pope*; amongst which Presents was the Title of the Holy Cross, and the Spear which pierc'd the side of our Saviour. Thus the *Romans* report and believe; and accordingly I write it.

He readily pardon'd injuries receiv'd, provided his Pardon were desir'd with humility; and he receiv'd Embassadours with so great curtesies, that in those days, the Princes of Christendom knew not how to do a greater favour to a deserving Officer of State than to send him Embassadour to *Rome*, to negotiate with so worthy and good a *Pope*.

He re-bless'd the *Venetians*, who had been interdicted

cted by his Predeceſſor; and although a *Genoeſe*, yet he omitted not to beſtow divers favours on the Senate; being wont to ſay, *That Popes may receive great honour by keeping good correſpondence with the Republick, and great ſhame by breaking with it.* Whence during his Government he entred into League with the *Venetians*, not in order to raiſe war againſt any, but only for procuring an Univerſal peace, and the tranquillity of all Chriſtendom.

He ſuppreſs'd all thoſe Tyrants who in ſeveral places tyrannis'ed over the State Eccleſiaſtical. He reduc'd unto friendſhip the diſunited hearts of the *Romans*, particularly, the Families of *Colonna*, *Orſini*, *Margoni*, and *Santa Croce*, which were all embroil'd together in civil feuds; and he commanded all Governours of the State to uſe their utmoſt endeavour for extinguiſhing all other inteſtine combuſtions.

He reduc'd all the Kings and Princes of *Europe* to an Univerſal Peace (and believe me, 'tis little leſs than a miracle to unite together ſo many diſunited minds.) And indeed ſince the daies of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, never was there ſeen in *Europe* ſo great a peace and concord between all Princes: who attributed this bleſſed tranquillity to the pious intention and good conduct of the *Pope*.

He brought to paſs, that three the moſt powerful Armies that ever appeared in the world were rais'd for the deſtruction of the Turk; two by Land, whereof one was commanded by the Emperour, the other by the King of *Hungary*; and the third was a very mighty Fleet commanded by the *Pope* in Perſon, accompanied with the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, beſides part of the Colledge of

Cardinals, and a great number of Princes.

But whilst all things were putting in order, and eight months of the year allotted for preparation already elapsed, this great *Pope* fell sick; and his death shortly ensuing hindered Christendom from the most glorious expedition that ever was (or perhaps will be) undertaken against *Asia*; and so much the more in that *Alexander* the Sixth was his Successor.

These examples are alledged by me, to shame those *Popes* who are so infinitely strangers to the spirit and qualities of *Innocent*. The Church indeed much needs in these daies such a *Pope* as he to remedy the innumerable disorders and scandals which are so dayly multiply'd in *Rome* and the whole State by this practice of advancing Nephews. But since the death of that *Pope* so well dispos'd to do good, there have succeeded in the Papacy a multitude of Wretches, inclin'd to nothing but to do mischief, and to avert whatever good might accidentally come to pass.

The chief mischief I find in the Papacy, is, that the unworthy examples of so many *Popes* addicted to do hurt to the Church, far exceeds the good example of *Innocent*, who hath had few (or none) like himself, in constant seeking good, and averting evil, not only from *Rome*, but also from all Christendom.

In this present Age, *Popes* strike in with the most, and relinquish the fewest; that is, they follow evil because many have follow'd it, and they despise good because they see it embrac'd by few; accounting it better to hazard their lives amongst a herd of Wolves than to be secure in the company of Sheep.

Greater mischief could not befall the Church, than that which hath befaln it through the strange changes either of the Nature or Disposition of the Successors of

of *Innocent* the eighth, to the admiration of all but the *Popes* themſelves; who never wonder at any thing, conceiving that they have authority ſufficient to ſanctifie wicked actions.

Now to make a little compariſon between the actions of *Innocent* the eighth with thoſe of *Urban* the eighth, *Innocent* the tenth and *Alexander* the ſeventh, the three laſt *Popes*; it appears that theſe latter were wholly bent upon ſumptuous Buildings, beautifying of Altars, repairing of Walls, and other external Ornaments; whereas *Innocent* on the contrary ſlighted all Pomps and Magnificences, ſeeking only the ſubſtantial and inteſnal good of the Church. The former plotted from morning to night how to ſow diviſion amongſt Princes: but *Innocent* ſpent all his nights in conſidering how to unite all States and Kingdoms, for the common benefit of Chriſtendom.

Nor is there much need to believe that the *Popes*, who ſhall ſucceed *Alexander*, will be apt to imitate *Innocent* the eighth. For in the whole Colledge of Cardinals 'tis not poſſible to find even but one of the like diſpoſition; and I am confident there may be found above fifty of the humour of *Urban*, and above as many more of that of *Innocent* the tenth, as alſo no leſs number of that of *Alexander* the ſeventh; although there be not in all much above threeſcore Cardinals.

They would think it a ſin to imitate good Examples for this reaſon, if for no other, that they have ſeen the ſame imitated by few. And the truth is, good examples are ſo ſcarce, that the *Popes* have not had, theſe forty years, time to ſeek them; the ſame being in a manner hid from their eyes, and ſtrangers to the City of *Rome*, from whence goodneſs ſeems utterly

terly baniſh'd, and wickedneſs recall'd thither with promiſe of great rewards.

Great Volumes might be filled with the Hiſtory of *Sixtus* the fourth, who was the man, that firſt made his Nephews abſolute Lords of the Church: If I ſhould ſet down all the good and evil committed by the ſaid *Pope* during his Reign. But it would be ſuperfluous, ſince all the Church receiv'd by that *Pope's* actions, is ſummarily contain'd in the Introduction and Advancement of his Nephews. A thing extremely ſcandalous to all Ages, and withal ſo miſchievous that 'tis impoſſible ever to be laid aſide; in regard the *Romans* themſelves are ſo accuſtom'd to it, being like Lepers, that feel neither the Iron nor the fire which corrodes their bowels.

It comes here into my mind, that travelling once from *Rome* to *Loretto*, in the ſame Litter with a very aged *Roman* Gentleman, I fell to diſcourſe with him about ſundry things pertaining to the Papal Government; and particularly I had the curioſity to ask him, How it could be conſiſtent with the ſpirit of true *Romans* to ſuffer ſo patiently the Dominion of the *Pope's* Nephews, who were ſo addicted to ſcrape up wealth, affront moſt Princes, overturn all things, and tyranniſe both in Temporals and Spirituals, with an authority ſo abſolute, uncontroulable, and even contrary to reaſon, that their Government ſeems rather Turkiſh than Chriſtian?

He anſwer'd me with a ſmile, *That the Romans were become callous*, that is inſenſible; alluding to their ſpirits, which alike endure all things from the hands of Nephews, who by ſeveral waies tend to the deſtruction of whatever they meddle with.

God forgive that ſcandalous reſolution of *Sixtus* the

the fourth to introduce (I will not ſay the *Nipotiſmo*, but) the Inſolence, Vanity, Ambition, Avarice, and the too great Liberty of the *Nipotiſmo* : For the Church had formerly ſeen *Pope's* Nephews in the *Vatican*, but not till then the Vices in their Nephews, which peradventure (if not without all peradventure) were brought in by the aforeſaid *Pope* by means of the conniv'd-at Liberty which he ſuffered his Relations to take, and for that having no regard to the future, but minding wholly the preſent, he went in the direct road to the deſtruction both of Church and State.

This was that *Pope*, who made war againſt the *Colonneſes*, quarrell'd the *Venetians*, and committed ſeveral other exorbitances, for no other reaſon but the ſake of his Kindred ; who, during his thirteen long years Popedom, were never any one of them the Authors of leaſt advantage to the Church, but altogether addicted to ſpend and ſpoil, to waſte and poure out their Prodigalities at her coſt.

More might be ſaid, but to what purpoſe is it to rub old ſores whilſt every day produces new and freſh occaſions of grief and trouble?

Where are thoſe Primitive times, when the lives of the Eccleſiaſticks were ſolely dedicated to the publick good, and they poſſeſs'd nothing as their own; but whatever was ſurplus to what was neceſſary to ſuſtain Nature, was all diſpoſed of to the poor, with ſo holy and overflowing Zeal from the true fountain of perfect Charity that it refreſh'd even the very ſight of the beholders ?

One of the greateſt evils which the *Nipotiſmo* hath conſtantly caus'd hath been their little regard to do good to the poor. The *Romans* do and ever have obſerv'd

obſerv'd (and would to God they had not obſerv'd throughout all ages) that the leaſt charity is that which comes from the houſes of the *Pope's* Nephews, who themſelves have nothing but what they receive as it were by a general Alms; which is no ſooner got into their clutches but it becomes transformed into hereditary Principalities, and into a Revenue not temporal, but perpetual and eternal.

But methinks they ought at leaſt to cover theſe ſubſtantial wickedneſſes with an appearance of good, by giving the poor the remains of their ſuperfluities; and not ſuffer them to clamour at their Palace doors, from whence they are ſo often driven by the violence of their ſervants.

But the truth is, the *Romans* give ſo little credit to the good they ſhould do, having been witneſſes themſelves to ſo much of their ill; that it is not poſſible for them to believe that what they give in Alms proceeds from a good and charitable heart, but from hypocriſie and deſign.

If there was ever a charitable Cardinal in *Rome*, certainly 'tis Cardinal *Franciſco*, who is indeed the moſt Eleemoſynary perſon in the world: which I know, as not only having ſeen his publick, but his private Alms. And yet notwithſtanding, there is not a *Roman* but believes this to be a meer deſign, to gain the hearts of thoſe who may be able to advance him to the Papacy. And to ſay the truth, The principal vertue that ſhined in *Alexander*, when he was Cardinal, was the great charity he ſhewed to the poor, giving them almoſt his whole Revenue; which was mention'd in deſign of his advantage in the Conclave. But he was no ſooner choſen *Pope* but that humour left him, and ever after he held for the height of

Charity

Charity, what he did to enrich his Kindred, who were indifferently poor, and ſtood in need enough of the Alms of the *Vatican.*

I conclude this Book with affirming, that the miſchiefs which the *Nipotiſmo* have occaſion'd, and ſtill do continue to the Church, are more eaſie to be ſeen with the Eye, than writ with the Pen; and therefore thoſe who have been at *Rome* will have more ſatisfaction in the reading it, than thoſe to whom it will be very difficult to be believ'd, nay, even to be conceiv'd in their imagination.

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

The Pope's NEPHEWS.

The Second Part.

The THIRD BOOK.

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THe difficulties, which the Miniſters of Princes meet with in their treaties with the *Pope's* Nephews, are ſo great, that the moſt refined Wits and politick Heads of the Univerſe cannot eaſily fathom them; every one loſing himſelf in an Abyſs of wonder to ſee the Court of *Rome*, in all her own concerns, and with all perſons, ſo ſelfiſh and ſingular, whilſt ſhe alone glories in the Title of Univerſal.

It would be no great matter, if the Nephews would reſt ſatisfied with embroyling and diſcompoſing the minds only of the principal Miniſters of State; and

did not likewiſe make themſelves the unhappy inſtruments of bringing Treaties and Negotiations of the greateſt weight to irreparable confuſion: the ruine whereof muſt neceſſarily draw the conſequence of damage to the Pontifical State, diſorder to Chriſtianity, and perpetual diſtaſte to thoſe Princes, who know themſelves obliged to ſend their Agents to a Court, where they ſhall rather receive occaſion of diſguſt than profit. For the Church-men cannot treat with any Prince, without wounding his reputation with ſecret reproaches and back-biting language.

There are two things, Ignorance and malice (the uſual Patrimony of *Popes* Nephews) which are predominant in the *Nipotiſmo*, which ſubvert and drown even thoſe appearances of good, that might otherwiſe be found in the Court of *Rome*: And the miſchief of it is, that theſe two are inſeparable, and go alwaies hand in hand together in the *Nipotiſmo*; their ignorance is not accompanied with that honeſt ſimplicity which often is ſeen in ſome of weak underſtanding; but quite contrary, an ignorant Nephew no ſooner marches into the *Vatican* (which thing God knows too often happens) but Artificial Malice diſplaies her Banners; and if by chance within the Camp there happens to be found out any one that's good and vertuous, ſhe doth her utmoſt to make him paſs for an ignorant lackwit. Whence the Church, Chriſtendom, and the Court do all ſuffer by the malice and ignorance of thoſe Lordly Nephews, who matter not by which of theſe two abject qualities they govern.

There have been ſeveral Princes in our Age, who finding themſelves deluded in ſome of their affairs, have blam'd their own Officers, judging the errors which

which occaſioned their damage, and were indeed committed by the *Nipotiſmo*, to be cauſed by the inability of their Miniſters; as if it had been in their power to overwhelm the Courſe of nature, and thwart a malicious Ignorance.

Odoardo Farneſe, Duke of *Parma*, a Prince truly worthy of a Crown, ſeeing the buſineſs of *Caſtro*, and his other Affairs with the Church, not to ſucceed according to his deſire, rebuked his Miniſter who was at *Rome*, believing him a perſon of very ſlender experience in the management of the matters committed to his charge.

But when it hapned that his occaſions drew himſelf thither, and conſequently oblig'd him to treate perſonally with the Nephews of *Pope Urban*, he ſpeedily reform'd the ill impreſſion made in his mind agaainſt his Miniſters, knowing then very well, by his own experience, that all the damages, he ſuſtain'd in that affair, were derived from the ill-will was borne him by the *Barberini*: Whereupon as he went from *Rome* he let theſe words fall, *That the Church indeed is a holy body, of which the Princes are the Members, and the* Pope *the Head; but the Nephews by their ill management do daily diſcompoſe the Members, not at all regarding how thereby they prejudiced the Head.*

And to ſay the truth, the *Pope's* Nephews cannot oftentimes diſtinguiſh, what difference there is betwixt a Prince and his Miniſter; nor what reſpect the Court ought to ſhew to them which come to honour it.

The Church-mens underſtanding, to accommodate the Church ſo well to the benefit of their proper intereſt, makes many believe the ſubtilty of them in politick affairs to be very great. And truly, the conceipt

is not ordinary, which moſt men have of the politick underſtanding of the Eccleſiaſticks; every one knowing that the City of *Rome*, in the Art of Governing and making others reaſons conform to its will, hath ever been in all times and ages the trueſt School of Policy, and almoſt, if not altogether, the Miſtris of all Nations: as ſhe who, at her birth from the belly of the reſt by a ſpecial gift of nature, brought with her into the world the moſt polite Endowments and refined Cuſtoms ſhe could beſtow upon her.

Such were alwaies the Cuſtoms of *Rome*, who for the ſpace of more than twelve Ages paſt, knew very well to frame conformable maximes to their own deſigns. But after that the *Nipotiſmo* began to take poſſeſſion of an Authority, not limited otherwiſe than by their own paſſions, every thing began to put on a new countenance. And having renounced the true and ancient Rules of Government, and found new methods of deport to thoſe who make addreſſes to them, the Agents and Miniſters of Foraign Princes, who come thither to negotiate their Maſters affairs, miſtake the way that others uſe to walk in with ſo much reputation.

From whence it happens, that there are very few return from their Negotiations there without juſt occaſion of complaint; not only that they have not met with due civilities, but that they have likewiſe been deluded in all their tranſactions.

The Court of *Rome* indeed, whilſt the *Popes* liv'd without the *Nipotiſmo*, were inſtrumental in the world to reſolve the greateſt intricacies of Chriſtendom: but after they were introduced, they ſerved only to confound and entangle the eaſieſt matters; who interpoſing in things not at all concerning them, they

they ruin'd others buſineſs and affairs, beſides their own. For they will do nothing now in *Rome* without pretence of perfect Zeal unto Religion; and yet that Zeal hath certainly the leaſt ſhew in any of their concerns. Good ſerves them only for the ſhadow, but Evil for the ſubſtance. Kindneſſes from them, as honey from Bees, being ſeldom got without the ſting of prejudice.

There are ſome that have fanſied the Courting and flattering the *Nipotiſmo* to be the only way to arrive at the end of their unbridled deſigns, but theſe found themſelves deceived; for all the merit or other inſinuation in the world is not able to move the obſtinacy of thoſe who (except it proceed from ſome capricious fancie or other inclination of their own) have no regard to remunerate or gratifie either Subject, Prince, or Prelate.

Yet it is more eaſie to obtain, than keep their favours: But he that doth, had better be without them: ſince 'tis ſo hard to judge whether the Tap they draw their favours from be ſweet or ſower.

'Tis hard to expreſs the difficulties the Miniſters of Princes meet with in their treating with the Nephews; which are ſo great, that ſome of them have cauſed an infinitie of Maſſes to be celebrated to the Holy Ghoſt, before they began their Negotiations with them. I my ſelf knew one, who vowed to make himſelf a *Capuchin Frier*, if he could effect a certain buſineſs with them; but I believe he had no great intention to put on that habit, becauſe his demand was for his own advantage, and the Nephews are never wont to grant any thing to any one, but what is to their prejudice.

'Tis my opinion, that to be well prepared to treate

in *Rome*, one ought to be well provided of that double ſpirit, which *Eliſha* ſo earneſtly deſired of *Elijah*, whilſt double dealing and hypocriſie are the chiefeſt rudiments of their Policy, I will not ſay that now do, but, for the ſpace of two Ages paſt, have reigned in *Rome*.

Let the Agents and Miniſters of Princes therefore lay their heads together in *Rome*, and ſay Maſſes to obtain new waies of managing Political Affairs, let them arm themſelves with a double ſpirit; for the Pontificial Negotiations will try the skill of the moſt experienced Stateſmen.

Venice, that with ſo great prudence in State-affairs foreſees the future, never ſends any Embaſſadour to *Rome*, that hath not firſt been tried, and rendered an incomparable Politician by the experience he hath gotten in the Courts of the chiefeſt Monarchies of the Univerſe: yet notwithſtanding I my ſelf have heard theſe words ſaid by an Embaſſadour ſent to *Rome* from thence: *Sin hora ſono ſtato nell Ambaſciate ſcabroſe, hora entro nelle pericoloſe, dio me la mandi buona conquel Nipotiſmo*: Till now I have been in rugged Treaties, now I enter into a dangerous one: God ſend me good luck with the *Nipotiſmo*,

He, who can live five years in the Court of *Rome* without a ſtumble, will not find it hard to paſs an Age or two (if nature would give him leave) in any other place with reputation and credit.

Yet we know very well by every daies experience, that many Politicians and expert Stateſmen, who, for many years together in the management of ſeveral Treaties, had rendered themſelves as it were immortal by the no ſmall reputation obtained in the ſeveral Courts they had been formerly employed in, no ſooner

ſooner came to *Rome*, but ſpeedily they loſt it. And indeed they all come thither ſwell'd with the Titles of moſt eminent and able Stateſmen, but depart from thence with very little credit.

And the reaſon of this is, becauſe as the Sea Coaſt, which encompaſſes the Eccleſiaſtick State, is ſubject to the uſual Tempeſts of the Ocean; ſo the *Roman* Havens are very ſubject to their ſudden variations and changes: From whence it happens, that both without and within *Rome* is ſo ſubject to perils and ſhipwracks. They therefore who go for ſuccour to that Climate, that is not underſtood by thoſe themſelves that are born under it, cannot but meet with ſtorms and tempeſts. Where affairs put on every day a ſeveral face and ſhape, the difficulty muſt needs be very great; And many Miniſters loſe themſelves in the Court of *Rome* by this means. For when they believe they Negotiate with a Monarchy, they find they have to do with a Republick; and when they think they treat with a Commonwealth, they find they are ingaged with a Monarchy full of Monarchs, whilſt there is not one of the Papal Nephews that doth not expect to be treated, with as a Soveraign.

Yet becauſe the *Pope* is choſen by the Cardinals, many would believe that theſe have the ſame Authority with the *Pope*, not only to treat, but conclude; as the Electors have with the Emperour in Affairs of great importance. And indeed, to hear his Holineſs call them Fellows, Companions, and Brethren, makes a ſtrange impreſſion in the Citizens, Strangers, Subjects, and Princes, of I know not what greatneſs in favour of the Cardinals, every one imagining that they cannot chuſe but have a ſhare in the privateſt concerns of the Government of the Church.

But

But for all that things appear quite otherwiſe, and the *Pope's* become abſolute Soveraign over thoſe who chuſe him; who never know any thing in any affairs untill they are concluded on: He ſends Embaſſadours at his will, treats both of Peace and War at his own pleaſure, and in fine, doth whatſoever he hath a mind to, without participating it to any, but thoſe to whom he is guided to by his particular inclinations.

But that, which makes the treating with the Court of *Rome* more difficult, is, That for the moſt part the *Pope* himſelf neither underſtands the Negotiations, nor Negotiators of them. And the Miniſters of Princes ſometimes as little know which is the *Pope*, for frequently he treats as Nephew, and the Nephews treat as *Pope*. A thing indeed enough to confound any ones underſtanding, to have the Pontificacy ſo promiſcuouſly made up of *Pope* and Nephews; He for the Exteriour, and they for the Interiour part of it.

For the *Nipotiſmo*, which manageth publick affairs, at whoſe Girdle the Keys of buſineſs are tied, Reſolves, Negotiates, and concludes any thing without acquainting either the *Pope* or Conſiſtory.

Let any one judge, how it was poſſible for any Embaſſadour to make any honourable reſult in the management of the intereſts of his Prince at *Rome* in the time of *Gregory* the fifteenth; ſince he himſelf was ſo fearful to diſpleaſe Cardinal *Ludoviſi*, his Nephew, that he ſuffered him to do whatever he had a mind to: who, finding the power he had over him, did every thing without his knowledge.

There were ſome Embaſſadours who in their ordinary Viſits would in general terms touch upon buſineſs,

buſineſs, only to feel his Holineſs his Pulſe, which way he was enclined: But ſo ſoon as ever he perceived them to begin to ask Queſtions, he would immediately make this Anſwer; *You ſpeak with us, and our Nephew doth all things without either us or you; ſpeak with him, and what he doth, that we do.* And with ſuch like anſwers he uſually entertained thoſe Embaſſadors that came to him.

From hence it came to paſs, that moſt of the Treaties did not only confound thoſe who managed them; but alſo the Miniſters found themſelves obliged to put all their affairs upon Chance, Fineneſs and Policy ſtanding them in little ſtead, who were neceſſitated, as a Ship in an unruly ſtorm, to give themſelves up altogether to Fortune.

It was a thing worth the obſerving, to ſee how the Embaſſadours laboured both with bodies and mind, ſometimes on this, ſometimes on that ſide; now with the Nephews, then with the *Pope*; from one drawing this Anſwer, *Speak to our Uncle:* From the other, *Go to our Nephew.* So that very often when they concluded any thing with the Nephew, they were in doubt whether or no the Uncle would be contented: And ſo it hapned on the other ſide, if they treated any thing with the Uncle, they were ever fearful leaſt the other, being diſpleaſed at it, ſhould croſs the whole deſign; ſo that though matters were concluded by either of theſe, they were ſtill uncertain whether the reſult would be for good or evil.

This Nephew, who did every thing without the knowledge of his Uncle, gave out, he could do nothing without participating to others; and particularly in the beginning the Papacy he alwaies anſwered, in affairs of greateſt concernment, *We will ſee,*

We

We will do, We will ſpeak, We will procure, We will conſent, and ſuch like dilatory expreſſions.

And the Embaſſadours were moſt mortified with this manner of proceedings of the *Pope* and his Nephews, who knew very well how to agree amongſt themſelves to the prejudice of thoſe who treated with them. And when things did not go on according to their pleaſures, or they found themſelves unable to reſiſt the perſwaſions and arguments of the Embaſſadours, they would both ſing in the ſame tune: The holy Colledge of Cardinals muſt be acquainted with the affair, without whom there was never any thing concluded.

And yet thoſe Miniſters themſelves knew very well, that was but a falſe pretext; for although the Cardinals were in *Rome*, yet they were not in the Court, and never knew of the deſigns of the *Pope*, nor the Treaties of his Nephew.

In *Urban's* time there were other Labyrinths in the Court, although this *Pope* was a far greater Politician than *Gregory*, and the *Barbarins* much more expert in Government than the aboveſaid Cardinal *Ludoviſio*.

At that time, before any thing could be done, all the Nephews favours muſt be purchaſed; for he was reſolved not to treat with any that was not dependent on his Family. And not only *Franceſco*, the Cardinal *Patrone*, was to be courted, but Cardinal *Antonio*, and *Don Tadeo*, and his Wife likewiſe, who ſo aſpired at the Viſits of the Miniſters of Princes, that the *Pope* would not give Audience to any that had not firſt paid his devoir to that Lady: which was the Reaſon, why the Duke of *Parma* had ſuch ill ſucceſs in all his buſineſs.

In

In the beginning of his Reign the *Pope*, in a manner alone, manag'd all the moſt important affairs of Chriſtendom, with no ſmall ardency and zeal. But wot you what? The things which he did in the day he undid in the night; for coming to conſult with his Nephews, who alwaies found their Uncle's Opinion contrary to their own, they oftentimes brought him to contradict himſelf, and reverſe what he had formerly granted and concluded.

'Tis true, he did this with great ſubtlety, not failing to find out ſome fair and ſpecious excuſes wherewith to colour their pretexts, and clear the *Pope* of levity; by which means Embaſſadours were perpetually deluded, even when they thought they had the Fiſh in their hands, which on a ſudden ſlipt away from between their fingers, beyond poſſibility of recovery.

Hence affairs were protracted *in infinitum*; So that though in *Urban's* time many Princes treated of a League with the Church and the *Pope* himſelf, nevertheleſs there was not any conſiderable one concluded in a Reign of twenty three years; during which time divers Princes concluded a League offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Barbarini*.

The reaſon of this was, for that the *Pope* was too hard towards others, and too ſoft towards his own Relations; Cardinal *Franceſco* too ſoft towards others, (but diſſemblingly) and hard towards his Uncle; Cardinal *Antonio* hard towards *Franceſco*, and ſoft towards the *Pope*; and *Don Thadeo*, who knew not how to do better, was hard towards the ſoft, and ſoft towards the hard.

Cardinal *Franceſco* fear'd to diſguſt *Antonio*, and delighted to diſpleaſe the *Pope*; Cardinal *Antonio* fear'd the *Pope*, but caus'd *Franceſco* fear himſelf;

Don

Don Thadeo sided with him that was most obstinate in his opinion; And the *Pope* deny'd to one what he could not grant to the other, granted to this what the other desired, becoming obstinate where there was need of pliableness, and pliable where it behoved him to be obstinate.

Now a Court of this humour afforded work enough to the Ministers of Princes, who were alwaies receiv'd by the *Pope* with ambiguous expressions, by Cardinal *Francesco* with abundance of faire promises, and by Cardinal *Antonio* with a long train of exquisite complements. But when the Ministers press'd to come to a conclusion of any important business, Cardinal *Antonio* sent them to his brother *Francesco*, who at the appointed hour of Audience us'd to go his visits to the seven Churches, and the *Pope* himself pretended indisposition of body. And thus the effecting of all urgent business was rendred impossible.

In *Urban's* time 'twas hard for Princes Ministers to find the streight gate to enter into publick Negotiations, and when they were in, they found themselves in a Labyrinth, out of which they could scarce extricate themselves after a thousand turnings and windings.

Monsieur de Lionne, a person of great Abilities, being employ'd Embassadour to *Rome* by the most Christian Crown, one day ask'd a familiar friend of his (pleasantly) *What kind of person himself had?* To which his Friend answered, *That he had the person of a man worthy of this Age.* Monsieur *de Lionne* reply'd to him, *That he took himself to be like a Tennis-ball, bandi'd to and fro by foul-players*; alluding hereby to the Artifices and tricks put upon him by the *Barbarini* in

in his negotiating with them concerning the affair of *Castro.*

The truth is, any other Minister but Monsieur *de Lionne* would have shewed much anger in *Rome*, in the time of the War of the Duke of *Parma* with the confederate Princes. This great Man, who was dispatch'd on purpose to procure the appeasing of the rising tumults, knew not which way to turn his wits to invent projects and artifices enough to oppose those of the *Barbarini*, who continually promis'd what they never intended to perform.

He was sent from *Herod* to *Pilate*, and from *Pilate* to *Caiphas*: The one answer'd, *Yea:* The other, *No.* But what was most important, the *Pope* had granted him leave to treat with the two Cardinals his Nephews, with a promise to confirm what should be by them concluded. Hereupon having one day by the power of perswasions reduc'd the said two Lords to reason, he repair'd to the *Pope* to beseech him to confirm the Treaties agreed upon with his Nephews; but he receiv'd for answer, *That 'twas expedient to consider upon the matter*; which consideration never had an end.

All the Policy of the *Barbarini* lay in drawing out affairs in length, and concluding nothing; so that when ever these Nephews concluded any thing with the Ministers of Princes, they presently sent word to the *Pope*, that he should deny to confirm what they had done, and at the same time gave out that such denial was contrary to their wills.

The Republick of *Venice*, when they saw that ancient Monument remov'd out of the *Vatican*, which represented the Benefits done by St. *Mark* to the Church, sent an Express to carry their just complaints

to

to the *Pope*, but he could never obtain any kind of satisfaction, not so much as in words, the *Pope* turning the matter from himself to his Nephews, and the Nephews from themselves to the *Pope*.

In the mean time great affront was done to the honour of a Republick so well deserving of the Church, without which one may say perhaps there would not be now a *Pope* in *Rome*, if any where else.

In like manner the Commonwealth of *Lucca* sent an Embassadour to *Rome* to complain of the injury done to them by the *Pope's* sending to them the Lord *Recagna* with the title of Commissary, (which was a thing not a little derogatory from the Soveraignty of that State) and the more, in that this good Prelate, sent from the *Barbarini*, had something of the Barbarian.

But this Embassage had no effect, besides a return of Plenary Indulgency, which the Embassadour carried home, who seeing himself so often baffled at the *Vatican*, fell into the humour of negotiating with the Saints, and made his business to receive the Stations sometimes of one Church, and sometimes of another.

The Crown of *Poland* for six years together solicited by its Embassadour to have a Cardinal's Hat for the Lord *Visconti*, according to his just Priviledges; but in all that time he not only could not obtain his intent; but moreover the Popish Embassadour at his return knew not what cause to tell his Master of the denial; for they all gave him good words, and bad deeds. Cardinal *Antonio* excus'd himself by saying, *That he had no authority to effect it*; Cardinal *Francesco*, *That his desire was to serve his Majesty, but his Holiness did not think the Person worthy*; And the

Pope

Pope pretended, *That he could not make a man Cardinal who was an enemy to his Nephews.*

The ſame was the caſe of the Citizens of *Bononia*, who diſpatch'd an Agent to *Rome*, to ſupplicate his Holineſs, that he would pleaſe to remove the Commiſſary *Della Graſcia*, whoſe being there mightily intrench'd upon their Priviledges, but they receiv'd the ſame Anſwer with thoſe of *Lucca*; their Envoy returning laden with fair words, but not with Indulgences, as he of *Lucca*; for out of diſpleaſure to have miſs'd his intent he would not viſit the holy places, but ſaid to a Friend that moved him to go and receive the Stations of St. *Mary Maggiore*, (rather like a Proteſtant than a Catholick) *My Friend, If there be no treating with the* Barbarini *who can ſpeak, there is leſs with the Saints who cannot. To what purpoſe is it to ſolicite the dead, if it be ſo hard to addreſs to the living?*

The two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* are manifeſtly impoſed upon every day, the *Spaniſh* Policy little availing with the *Barbarini*, whilſt they ſtir not a hairs breadth from their ordinary Maxime, which is to perplex the underſtanding of Embaſſadours, one of them denying as much as the other promis'd. Which gave occaſion to a certain *Florentine* of the great Duke's Court to ſay, *That the greateſt miracle of* Rome *was to ſee all the Miniſters of Princes tantaliz'd with the ambiguous and confus'd treating of the* Barbarini, *to ſo great prejudice of all Chriſtendom.*

But if ever any Prince was tantalized by them, 'twas the King of *Portugal*, who by the advice of *France*, and upon hopes given by the fair words of the *Barbarini*, ſent the Biſhop of *Lamego* with the title of Embaſſadour Royal to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd

with great honour and reſpect. But in ſubſtance 'twas all but ſmoke, the Embaſſadour being unable to obtain either a favourable Yea, or a flat No; that I ſay not that he obtain'd ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other.

This intricate procedure in ſo important a matter was the cauſe of great diſorders, the *Spaniards* diſtruſting the words of the *Barbarini*, and the *French* giving little or no credit to the offers made by them. For Cardinal *Antonio* never ceas'd to aſſure *France*, *That* Lamego *ſhould not fail to be receiv'd as a publick Embaſſadour*; and Cardinal *Franceſco* continually promis'd *Spain*, *That his Holineſs would never admit a Portugal Embaſſadour*.

And accordingly by this courſe the *Barbarini* wholly diſguſted the *Portugal*, little ſatisfied the *Spaniard*, and nothing at all the *French*, and brought the City it ſelf into danger by that fray which happen'd between the two Embaſſadours, with the death of ſome Courtiers on both ſides, and the declaring *Lamego* irregular and depriv'd of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, according to the uſual penalty of Homicide.

A thouſand other Examples might be brought of like nature, but I muſt omit them to paſs on to the actions of *Innocent* the tenth, who had reduc'd the Court to ſuch a confus'd ſtate, that no body knew where, nor how, to begin any Negotiation; whereupon a Miniſter of the Duke of *Parma* ſaid one day, *That 'twas eaſier to make a bed for a dog, than to underſtand the humour of* Innocent.

The Government of *Urban* was the beſt in the World in compariſon of that of *Innocent*; for *Urban* delighted to negotiate with Embaſſadours, but the other

other avoided their preſence as much as poſſible he could; and when he receiv'd them, 'twas after ſo diſobliging careleſs manner, that few car'd to confer with him.

No hours were ſo tedious to him, as thoſe wherein he was to give Audience to a publick Embaſſadour; for he little car'd to be troubled with the important affairs of Chriſtendom, or thoſe of the Papacy it ſelf.

His particular Maximes were to deny all favours, to anſwer all ſutes with a Negative, and never to reſolve upon any thing that might advantage the Church, or weaken its Enemies.

What others avoided, was in him predominant; that is to ſay, He lov'd that which was worſt. If he poſſeſs'd any vertue, he employ'd it not to the benefit of Chriſtendom, but of his own Family; as on the contrary he did his ill qualities to the miſchief of the Church and the City.

At firſt indeed he ſeem'd ſo deſirous of knowing all affairs both publick and private, that 'twas hoped, his Government would prove the happieſt that ever was to the Church. But this vigilance cauſed no ſmall hurt in general; for when the Subjects of the Eccleſiaſtical State, Prelates, and forreign Miniſters, conceiving the ſame to proceed from zeal to Juſtice, had brought and delivered their Memorials, in hopes of a ſpeedy Anſwer, it prov'd all but loſs of time; for they never were call'd, nor admitted to any anſwer at all. Whence, the *Pope's* way, of denying all and reſolving nothing, being underſtood, it became an ungrateful employment to have any thing to do at *Rome*.

And to make the way of arriving at their ends

more difficult to Princes Miniſters, for a long time together there was no Officer at Court to preſent the Petitions of Suiters, as formerly, but he declared one of his Nephews to be Cardinal Patron; who was the Cardinal *Aſtalli*, but with an authority ſo ſtreight and limited, that he was almoſt aſham'd of it.

By this means the Court became ſo much the more at a loſs; for ſuch as addreſs'd to this Nephew, receiv'd no other comfort, but to behold him ſhrink up his ſhoulders, (as young maids do when ask'd by their Fathers whether they will marry) and hear him tell them, *That all ſhould be repreſented to his Holineſs.* And the truth is, as to this point he was very punctual: But he did it after ſo timerous and indifferent a manner, out of fear to croſs the *Pope*, whoſe anſwer he knew was alwaies the ſame, *That the matter ſhall be taken into conſideration*; The plain meaning whereof was, *That nothing at all ſhall be done in it.*

In this confuſion ſome thought it beſt to addreſs immediately to the *Pope*; but, beſides the difficulty of Acceſs, the Event prov'd alwaies alike; whatever care they took to make their Propoſals clear and intelligible, they alwaies hung in the hedge. Yet there were ſome too that fanſied *Innocent* one of the greateſt Politicians of the World, till perceiving by effects the clean contrary, they remain'd as mute as Statues for ſhame of their miſtake.

His ſuffering *Donna Olympia* to rule all, his exalting, and abaſing his adopted Nephew *Aſtalli*; his baniſhing, and recalling *Don Camillo* his own Nephew; his perſecuting, and reingraciating with the *Barbarini*; and in a word, his changing his will and judgment every moment; and his inconſtancy in every thing, ſave

ſave granting Sutes, would have imbroiled any Government whatſoever, and much more the Papal, which is naturally full of confuſion.

When there happens a *Pope* like *Innocent*, bent wholly to reject all the inſtances of Princes; the only remedy is to ſow diſturbances in the Church, and broyls between the Proteſtants and Catholicks, thereby to puzzle the *Pope's* brain, and frighten him, ſo that he ſhall rather ſeek the friendſhip of Princes, than they his. Of the ſucceſs of which courſe I ſhall give ſome Examples.

When the Duke of *Parma*'s Army took the Field, to get redreſs concerning the detenſion of *Caſtro*, under the Command of *Don Gauffrido*; the *Pope* extremely affrighted, as one not much accuſtomed to the Trade of War, cauſed the Holy Sacrament to be expos'd forty hours, and Proceſſions to be celebrated to all the Churches in *Rome*.

And not knowing what might be the iſſue of the War undertaken by the ſaid Prince, who breathed nothing but the extremities thereof againſt his Perſon, he thought it his beſt courſe to gain the Princes of *Chriſtendom* to his ſide, and to oblige them to relinquiſh the Protection of the Duke, by rendring himſelf extraordinary eaſie to all Addreſſes, granting Favours to all Demanders, and receiving Publick Miniſters with ſo much obligingneſs, that they needed no more but to open their mouths for any Suit or Requeſt, that of the *Pope* ſtanding always open to accord it.

A certain Embaſſador, who for three years together could never obtain any other Favour but that of Common Indulgences, finding his deſires now ſatisfied in what ever he demanded, writ to the Prince

his Maſter, *That the* Pope, *like a Hackney-horſe, travelled very well with a Spur in his Flank; and that he had lately obtained, in eight days, more than he could do before in three years: So that it were to be wiſh'd that the Duke of* Parma *would give him a touch or two more of the Spur.*

In the very ſame manner, at the time that the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of *Portolongone*, all ſort of Favours ran out with a full torrent, many times preventing Requeſts: Nor did the *Pope* ſuffer any man to depart from his Preſence, who was not ſatisfied to the height of his wiſhes.

But no ſooner was this State of Affairs changed, that is to ſay, *Portolongone* recovered by the *Spaniards*, and the Duke diſappointed in the War, but Negatives appear'd afreſh in the Field with greater peremptorineſs than before; and the *Pope* became as deaf as a Stone to all manner of Suppplications or Petitions.

Hence it may be clearly ſeen, or at leaſt argu'd, That moſt *Popes* (if not all) neither grant Favours, nor bear any regard to Princes, ſave at ſuch time as they ſtand in need of them.

Urban the Eighth was of this very ſame humour, denying without exception all ſort of Favours, which had not their original from his own or his Nephews inclination, however juſt Reaſons might be alledged for them; and this as well to the *French*, whom he made ſemblance to love, but really lov'd not; as to the *Spaniards*, whom indeed he affected, though without giving them the ſatisfaction of ſeeing any tokens of that affection.

Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw *Odoardo Farneſe* Duke of *Parma* enter victorious with 3000 Horſe, for the regaining

regaining of *Caſtro*, moſt injuriouſly detained from him, then indeed he begau both to humble himſelf to *Spain*, which he had kept under before, and to gratifie *France*, to which he had on divers occaſions ſhewn himſelf ungrateful; and alſo to ſolicite the Friendſhip of all ſort of Princes, as well ſmall as great; and that not by promiſing, but by real conceſſion of Favours with a plentiful hand in *Germany* and *Italy*.

Wherefore ſeeing the *Popes* have a particular Method of bearing themſelves ruggedly and contemptuouſly to Princes, when they need them not; 'twere good Policy in Princes to bring it ſo to paſs, that they might always be in a ſtate of Fear, ſometimes by threatning neer hand, and at other times by vexing them at diſtance.

The Indignities which Princes receive often from the Court of *Rome*, proceed not immediately from an evil intention in the *Popes* towards them, but from the too good inclination of Princes towards the *Popes*; there being ſome ſo tender-conſcienc'd, that they fear the loſs of their Souls in diſguſting a raſcallion Court-fly that bears the Caſſock of a Prieſt, and ſerves to ſweep the Antichamber of his Holineſs or the Cardinal-Nephew.

The Eccleſiaſticks have Swords in their Mouths, but no Courage in their Breaſts; I mean, they threaten all People, without conſidering what iſſue ſuch Menaces may have: But when they ſee themſelves reprov'd or threatned, then their hearts fail them, they fall a trembling, and humble themſelves to every body, eſpecially Grandees; although withall, they have the cunning to colour their Fear with the pretext of a religious, pious, and devout Meekneſs.

The nature of the Eccleſiaſticks is to diſguſt ſuch as comply with them, and fawn on thoſe that diſguſt them; So that if Princes would advance their Affairs, and bring down the haughtineſs of *Rome*, they muſt endeavour to mortifie the *Pope*.

The Catholick Crown, in teſtimony of its affection to the *Popes*, admits into its Juriſdiction only the *Roman* Religion; beſides that the *Spaniards* alſo ſhew themſelves moſt concerned in keeping up the *Pope* the Head of the Church, and enriching the Eccleſiaſticks.

However, they have fared little or not at all the better for it, as to their Negotiations at *Rome*, in regard that the Eccleſiaſticks (that is, the *Popes*) eſteem them not more than others for it; but through fear commonly afford as much or more countenance to the *French*: from whom on the other ſide they receive greater diſguſts, under pretence of the *Gallican* Priviledges.

'Tis true, the *Roman* Court very well perceives, that the *Spaniards* reverence it as the Sanctuary of their Glory, and the Abſolute Miſtreſs of the preſervation of their States; and accordingly it treats them familiarly, that is to ſay, with good words and ill deeds, with fair ſhews and bad ſubſtance.

The *Spaniards* ſuffering themſelves to be too much domineer'd over in the Court of *Rome*, is not only hurtful to the Government of the *Spaniards* themſelves, but alſo thereby prejudices the Intereſts of all thoſe Princes that have concerns either at *Rome*, or with *Rome*; For when any inferiour Prince would with ſpecious Reaſons defend his Right over Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, theſe men preſently alledge for their juſtification the Example of the *Spaniards*, and thereby

by enforce him not to refuſe, what ſo great and powerful a Monarchy as *Spain* refuſeth not to do. And of theſe Examples the *Popes* have the *Vatican* full, and make uſe of the ſame in all Occurrences, to the perpetual nauſeating of Princes therewith.

This manner of proceeding between the Eccleſiaſticks and the *Spaniards* cannot laſt long, becauſe the long languiſhings of Princes, enſuing thereupon, will enforce them either to yield to ſome violent Remedy, or to open the gate to death.

Every day, yea, every moment, diſpleaſures ariſe between the Crown of *Spain* and *Rome*; which, howmuch ſoever debated, turn always to the ſatisfaction of the *Pope*, and the diſadvantage of the Intereſts of the Catholick King.

In brief, The Dominion which the Court of *Rome* hath gotten over the *Spaniards* is ſo great, that how many and conſiderable ſoever the diſguſts be which this Court puts upon them from day to day, nevertheleſs the *Spaniards* dare not come to a Rupture with it, being better contented to ſuffer themſelves, than to make others ſuffer.

The Policy of the *North*, yea and that of *Italy* too, laughs at this *Spaniſh* Zeal, which ſtoops in ſo humble ſort to the arrogance and inſolent Proceedings of the Eccleſiaſticks. And indeed What reaſon is there that ſuch a Monarchy ſhould ſubmit its Empire to a ſimple Biſhoprick? Nevertheleſs, this is ſeen done every day in the Eccleſiaſtick State.

Were it not for the *Spaniards*, I verily believe Affairs at *Rome* would not be ſo imbroil'd and perplex'd as they are; for the *Popes* become ſo extremely proud towards other Princes, and render all Negotiations ſo extremely difficult, through the little account they make

make of Publick Miniſters, in regard they ſee themſelves back'd and ſupported by ſo potent a Crown in *Italy*.

Nevertheleſs, I cannot but imagine, That other Princes are for this reaſon extremely incenſed with anger againſt the *Spaniards*, who to ſatisfie an apparent out-ſide Zeal, ruine the Common Cauſe of the Sovereignty of all other Princes.

If the *Spaniards* would comply with other Sovereigns, to give the *Popes* now and then a touch of the Spur, thereby to oblige them to go on in the right way, the management of Affairs at *Rome* would be very expedite, and the Miniſters of Princes would not meet with ſo many difficulties: Which I leave, with the reſt, to the conſideration of the *Spaniards* and other Princes.

Some Miniſters there are, who flatter themſelves into a belief that they may be able to bring their Negotiations to a proſperous end, by means of the friendſhip they have with Cardinals, and the great Intereſt theſe Cardinals have to defend thoſe Princes of whom they are intitl'd Protectors.

But this Opinion of theirs hath no other effect but to confound their Negotiations ſo much the more, whilſt the Protection of Princes by thoſe Cardinals is only external and nominal: for otherwiſe Policy obliges them to ſeek in the firſt place the advantage of the *Pope*, before the profit of the Princes, whom they ſerve, or at leaſt ſeem to ſerve.

Every blow of mortification which the *Pope* receives from any Prince, recoils to the damage of the Cardinal Dignity; and therefore the Cardinals labour to bring it about, that the Advantages may be always on the *Popes* ſide. Nor is it neceſſary to believe

lieve the Cardinal, who profeſſeth, *That the Intereſts of his Prince are dearer to him, than thoſe of the Scarlet Gown it ſelf.*

But this would be a great failure in Policy and Intereſt: Whence it was, that when *Innocent* beheld his Couſin *Olympia* anxious and troubled leſt the Eccleſiaſtical State ſhould become involv'd in a War, and leſt many Cardinals ſhould engage in it on behalf of the Duke of *Parma*, out of ſpight to the *Pamphilian* Family, the *Pope* comforted her with theſe words; *Couſin, fear nothing, the Cardinals will be for us in ſpight of their own teeth, and will defend the Eccleſiaſtical State in conſideration of their own Intereſt, though we ſhould go about to ruine it for ours.*

The Grandeur of the Scarlet Gown depends upon the Majeſty of the Triple Crown, and the Cardinals are proportionably Great as the *Pope* is ſo; whence it is that they ſtrive with all poſſible ardour to promote the Advantage of the Church, and the Honour of the *Pope*; which failing, their own Reputation and Glory muſt partake in the Eclipſe.

Great undoubtedly is the Magnificence of the Colledge of Cardinals; and greater it would be, if it had not been perverted both from the firſt Inſtitution thereof, and retrench'd of the Prerogatives wherewith it hath been augmented by divers *Popes*, for the maintenance of its Grandeur and Honour.

But the *Popes* have corrupted and ſpoil'd all; inaſmuch as into that Colledge, into which the greateſt Princes of the World think it a glory to enter, they have introduc'd ſome, who have received their Original from the vileſt Dunghil of the World; and 'tis not many years ago, that one was created Cardinal, who was the Son of a baſe Catchpole.

Hence

Hence it comes to pass, that the *Popes* seeing the Scarlet Robe upon the Shoulders of so vile and unworthy Persons, they despise it likewise when it is worn on the backs of Great Princes. And 'tis more than true, That good *Popes* honour the Cardinals, when such Honour brings profit to themselves; otherwise they make a mock both of their Persons, and their Order.

And hence it is, that Princes Ministers find themselves in a wrong Box, when they put any trust even in those Cardinals who seem the greatest Zealots for their Interests.

Thus I have made a Relation of the manner how things are wont to be negotiated at *Rome*, and shew'd how the great Polititians of *Europe* may salve their Reputations; as also the Grounds and Causes of those Mischiefs, which break the sleep and make the heads ake of as many Publick Ministers as reside in *Rome*.

When the *Pope* perceives that Negotiations tend to his own Advantage, he doth things like an absolute Monarch: but when he knows that they are likely to cause any prejudice to him, he lays the cause of not succeeding upon the Congregations of the Cardinals, of which there are infinite at *Rome*.

In this manner he shews himself rather as Head of a Commonwealth, than an absolute Prince: and indeed those Congregations serve more for a pretext and help to the *Pope* and the Nephews, than for any benefit to the State,

From such a Government little Fruit, and no Satisfaction can be drawn by the Ministers that negotiate at *Rome*; but rather, as accordingly it falls out, disgusts, affronts, and dissatisfactions.

In

In the *Roman* Court there paſſes not a day without reproaches againſt the *Pope* and Nephews, as thoſe who ſtudy nothing elſe but to accommodate themſelves, and incommodate all others that endeavour the good of the State and the Church.

Greater attendance and application cannot be, than that of *Alexander* the Seventh both to Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and which is moſt conſiderable, he doth all things with ſuch an eagerneſs, that he appears to take no ſmall glory therein.

He lets not one day paſs without giving publick Audience, at leaſt very ſeldom, unleſs thoſe Infirmities which are his conſtant Companions indiſpoſe him to follow his good intentions; as it hapned for theſe days lately paſſed, wherein for a good while together he was not able to give Audience to the Embaſſador of *France*.

Innocent undertook things ſlowly, and this ſlowneſs ſpoil'd all; but *Alexander*, being moſt contrary to ſuch a nature, enterpriſeth every thing with great ardour: and this ſpoils all too, the Ship being loſt oftentimes as well through too little Wind, by falling into the hands of Enemies, as likewiſe through too great a Wind ſtriking upon Rocks.

The Miniſters of Princes even ſtill find very great difficulties in negotiating at *Rome*, and perhaps greater too than thoſe which they found in the time of *Innocent*; who indeed intangled things, becauſe he would not extricate them: but *Alexander* confounds matters by too great eagerneſs to rectifie them. *Innocent* lov'd not to meddle, but with thoſe things whereunto he was enforced; but *Alexander* thruſts himſelf upon ſuch as might better be let alone.

Hence 'tis that Miniſters ſeeing the *Pope* employ his mind

mind on a thouſand buſineſſes of Chriſtendom, and but of a weak and infirm conſtitution, they forbear to trouble him; as Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis d' Haro* did, who would not let the *Pope* have any hand in the Treaty of the laſt Peace, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the poor *Pope*, who was ambitious to receive his part of the glory in a buſineſs ſo important to the Univerſe.

That which makes publick Agents at *Rome* thus backward, is the knowledge they have of the *Pope's* mind; who is inquiſitive and curious to know every thing, to have a hand in every action, to pry into all the affairs of Chriſtendom, and briefly, to lade himſelf with ſo many buſineſſes, that he muſt needs precipitate them all through want of ſtrength to carry them on: whence 'tis that oftentimes he anſwers one Miniſter concerning certain matters of which he had conferr'd with another, and ſo confounds both himſelf and them that negotiate with him, who for fear of further embaraſſing the *Pope's* underſtanding are fain to break off their moſt important Audiences.

In the beginning of his Papacy, being ambitious of glory, he would needs ſuſtain alone the weight of all the world, not only of the State Eccleſiaſtical, in the middle whereof he lean'd upon others, but did not caſt the burden wholly off from himſelf; and at preſent now he approaches towards his end, his infirmities enforce him to leave others to do, that which it grieves him that he cannot do for others.

Matters were well believ'd, but ill underſtood at the firſt entrance of the Cardinal Patron and *Don Mario* into *Rome*: and now they are well underſtood, but ill believ'd. Theſe Lords began to Reign with their Eyes ſhut, and their Ears open; and at preſent

ſent, the Style being changed, they rule with their Ears ſhut, and their Eyes open. whence proceeds the multitude of inconveniences to publick Agents.

The Cardinal *Patron* exerciſes the Office of his Patronage, in giving himſelf Patronage for enjoying his pleaſures, and avoiding, as much as poſſible, all hard and knotty affairs; which are wont to perplex the mind, and confound the brain of a Gallant.

Hence it is, that Embaſſadors, who treat with him, reap no other good but a fardle of Complements, and pleaſing Expreſſions, with no ſmall hope that he will act abundantly; but in reality he doth nothing: ſo that they depart from his Preſence outwardly ſatisfi'd, with their hands empty of any thing of ſubſtance.

I have known ſome Miniſters, who have believ'd they might ſpeed in their publick affairs by the eaſineſs of knowing the ſecrets of the Court; which is of great uſe to a publick Agent, namely, to know the actions, treaties, and conveniences of others, and to keep his own, and thoſe of his Prince, ſecret.

Indeed, the ſecreſie of the Court of *Rome* ſeems not to be ſo great as the ſubtilty, although Excommunications and Cenſures make a great noiſe: For thoſe who are introduc'd into this Court are ſo only for two ends, either to exalt their Family, and ſupport it from falling, (for the Eccleſiaſticks, having no Wives, naturally encline to enrich their own Nephews) or elſe to aggrandiſe themſelves, out of that ambition which alwaies lies under the Robes of Prelacy.

The Cardinals, however ſometimes vertuous and experienced perſons, are not exempt from certain imperfections which commonly reign in *Rome*; for they

are

are either oblig'd to Princes by a thousand benefices and gifts, or else are their natural Subjects: and for this reason the Princes who have great concerns with *Rome*, the more they see Authority and Offices of any Cardinal increas'd, the more they study how to oblige him to be at their devotion, and to withdraw him from that of the *Pope*.

Now almost all the Cardinals reveal the things which they pretend to discover, either through the importunity of inquisitive Agents, and not to disoblige those to whom they are oblig'd, or else to put greater obligations upon the Princes to whom they are Pensioners, to the end they may receive gratuity after gratuity both to themselves and their Kindred, and especially that they may be assisted in their Pretensions to the Papacy, when the See Apostolical shall become vacant; which is the greatest spur of all.

To this Embassadours trust, and alwaies treat with the Cardinals who are adherents to their Masters, to discover the Counsels by their means. But indeed, they deceive themselves; for the Cardinals being as much concern'd as the *Pope* in the defense of the Church, the State, and the publick good, in regard all are in capacity to be *Popes*, they will never reveal any thing which may prejudice that Papacy which makes them great, and which they aim one day to govern.

The Cardinals are not so indiscreet as to reveal any thing that may in any wise prejudice the Interests of the Papacy and Ecclesiastick State; they reveal such things as may be of prejudice to the single person of the *Pope*, or rather of his Nephews, whom commonly they hate through envy.

The

The effect hereof is, that moſt *Popes* put little truſt in the Cardinals when any matter relating to their own Houſe is in agitation, but they do all *motu proprio*: for themſelves having, whilſt they were Cardinals, revealed what they ought to have kept ſecret, they doubt, being afterwards *Popes*, that others do the like by them; and for this cauſe they ſecure themſelves, as much as poſſible, from ſuch dangers.

The Papal Excommunications, which are great againſt thoſe that reveal the ſecrets of the *Roman* Court, as well Temporal perſons as Spiritual, have no other effect but to put all into confuſion, and to cauſe ambiguities on all ſides. Hence ſuch things as are revealed, ſeem not really to be ſo, but only intimated; and conſequently no ſmall prudence is requiſite to underſtand what is ſpoken, becauſe the revealers fearing the ſting of the Excommunication within their breaſts, utter only doubtful, perplex'd, and ambiguous words; by which means ſuch Agents, as think themſelves illuminated by ſuch revelations, ſoon after find themſelves puzzled and confounded.

The cauſe hereof is the fear, which Excommunication begets in the breaſts of the ſcrupulous. But it is true in general, that to mingle things certain with doubtful, is proper to the *Roman* Court; and things true with falſe, to the Eccleſiaſticks.

But the Eccleſiaſticks being leſs guilty of valour then fear, (for oftentimes they fear even their own ſhadows) the more important things are, the more they conſult about them; which the *Popes* do, not becauſe the good of the State requires it, or the care of their Paſtoral charge urges their conſciences thereunto; but only to take from their ſucceſſors the occaſion to charge the blame of miſchief upon their

phews. And this is the cauſe that Negotiations are prolonged, publick Miniſters confounded, and poor Chriſtendom ſo embroiled, as it is at this day.

Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, eſpcially in the beginning of a Pontificate, think they treat with the new *Pope* as a perſon diſintereſſed, and the Univerſal Father, not only in reference to things pertaining to the Church, but alſo to the civil Intereſts of Princes, and affairs moſt important to the Univerſe.

But they deceive themſelves, and this Error confounds their Treaties; whilſt the *Popes* have nothing but the bare Title and outward ſhew of Univerſal Father, acting all things according to the dictates of their own will and intereſt.

Were the *Popes* really Univerſal Fathers, they would love all alike, and deal with all without affection or hatred: But truly, I know not how they dare aſſume that Title, eſpecially thoſe *Popes*, who, without any need of the Church, have made it lawful to themſelves to begin Wars, hinder Peaces, perſecute Nations, and make Leagues againſt Crowns, Commonwealths, and Princes, perhaps (nay without perhaps) better deſerving of the Church, and affected to the publick and univerſal tranquillity.

I know that if the *Popes* would deſerve the Title of *Univerſal Father*, they out to be Univerſal towards all; and if at any time to be particular, it ſhould be either out of abſolute neceſſity of Reaſon of State, or ſome great importance to the honour of the Church. Thus did the Primitive *Popes*, but within theſe laſt hundred years things are altogether tranſform'd; for the waies of the *Popes* are directed to the advancement of their Families; whence every *Pope* has often chang'd his thoughts and purpoſes, and made

made ſhew of one thing outwardly, and meant another inwardly; not for that reaſons of State (but the reaſons of their own Families) ſo requir'd: which latter are commonly more dear to the *Popes* than the former. The Miniſters of Princes underſtand what I mean.

'Tis not poſſible for the moſt expert Miniſter at *Rome* to ſucceed well, and with his Maſter's ſatisfaction, in the things which he negotiates there. Before I give a reaſon whereof, I will relate what I read three daies ago in a little book, whether Hiſtorical or Fabulous I know not, but much to the purpoſe.

They ſay, *Pope Paſchal* the ſecond took a conceit to have an Aſtrologer divine his thoughts. To which end he ſent for an Abbot very intelligent in the Art of Aſtrology, and demanded of him, *What himſelf thought?*

The Abbot ſurpris'd at this odd-propoſal, deſir'd time to anſwer, and returning home fell to ſtudy an Anſwer; but, not being able to find one fit and proper to the Queſtion, he remain'd much troubled and melancholy.

His Cook obſerving it, and underſtanding the cauſe, bid his Maſter take courage, and leave the buſineſs to him; for he would effect it with reputation to them both. The Abbot was well pleas'd with this diſcourſe, and being deſir'd by the Cook to let him have his Gown and other Habit, gave him it: wherewith the Cook being cloath'd, repair'd to the *Pope's* preſence, and that with the more confidence, for that he was in perſon and voyce very like the Abbot.

The *Pope* no ſooner beheld him, but taking him for the Abbot, *Well*, (ſaid he) *What do I think?* The

bold Cook answer'd without delay, *Your Holiness thinks you speak with the Abbot, but 'tis with the Abbots Cook.*

Not much different is that which befals Embassadours of Princes who negotiate at *Rome*; where the *Popes* are wont to do like the *Jackpuddings* of a Play, who change themselves in a moment from Man to Woman, and from a Physician to a Muleter.

When an Embassadour thinks he treats with a Temporal Prince, and about Civil matters, 'tis with a Spiritual Bishop, and about matters Ecclesiastical. Religion serves the *Pope* to disguise Temporal Dominion, and Temporal Dominion to disguise Religion. Religion precedes Policy, if the Affairs of Embassadours be contrary to the Policy, which the *Popes* have in their heads: Policy precedes Religion, if the Embassadours strengthen and confirm the particular Policy of the Popes.

If perchance a publick Agent treats a League offensive or defensive with the *Pope*, he finds greater difficulties therein than he imagin'd; for if the *Pope* see that the League brings much more profit to himself than to the Prince that desires it, he concludes as a Temporal Prince, without derogating from the Authority Spiritual: That is, he reserves a secret clause in his mind to break, the League when he will, under colour of Religion: But if he know that the League is likely to bring much more advantage to the interest of the Prince than to his own Family, and to Religion than to his own Purse; excuses are immediately in the field, and the *Pope*, of a Sacred High Priest, becomes a secular Prince, denying to do any thing, for fear of hazarding the State.

The Ministers of the Emperour and the King of *Poland*

Poland can witneſs what I ſay, for one of them hath often ſworn to me, That the *Popes* do in buſineſſes ſo confound the Sacred with the Profane, and Religion with Policy, that it is not poſſible to know whether it be better, to treat with them as Temporal Princes, or as Secular Lords.

Amongſt all the difficulties which Embaſſadours meet with at *Rome*, this is the greateſt and moſt deſerving to be mentioned.

They that enter upon the Government at *Rome*, are ordinarily at their entrance deſtitute of all vertue, much more of Political skill; and no ſooner begin to be a little acquainted therewith, but they muſt go off, and give place to others, that enter with like qualifications.

The *Burgheſes* had never manag'd any kind of publike affair: nevertheleſs as ſoon as *Paul* was made *Pope*, they became Maſters without having ever been at School, and undertook to weild a Scepter, before they had paſſed the Ferula.

Cardinal *Ludoviſio* had never gone out of his little *Podere*, where he entertain'd himſelf from morning to night amongſt thoſe Peaſants, ſometimes in playing at Hazard, and ſometimes in dancing Country Jigs, till, his Uncle being become *Pope*, (*Gregory*) he left *Podere* for the *Vatican*, the Dance for the Court, hazard for fortune, and the Peaſants for Princes; paſſing in a moment from the command of a Cottage to the Empire of the Church, and from ſmall affairs to the great intereſts of the World.

Of the *Barbarini*, one was fetcht from the bottom of a Cloiſter, where he had ſcarce learnt to command a Butler to lay the cloath; another was taken from the Colledge of the Jeſuites, where he had practiſed

only to run up and down the ſtairs of the Oratory; a third was taken from the cure of a ſmall Benefice; and the forth from a ſtate of Domeſtick peace to command Armies. A fair turn indeed, no leſs wonderful than unexcted: yet theſe Lords have had this particularity, that though they entred upon the government of the Church extremely ignorant, nevertheleſs in a few daies they became Maſters of Maſters, and ſeem'd old, although but boys, in the ſubtleties of this Court.

Of the two Nephews of *Innocent* the tenth, the one legitimate, the other adopted, we have ſpoken ſufficiently, and need not rub the ſore again; in regard they manifeſted themſelves altogether unexpert, the one by renouncing the Hat, as unable to bear the weight of command; and the other by being expell'd the City, for venturing to command beyond his underſtanding. For all this *Innocent* introduced them to a vaſt Government, and laid upon their backs that world which the moſt expert are hardly able to ſuſtain.

What ſhall we ſay of *Don Mario*, *Don Auguſtino*, and Cardinal *Flavio*? What Governments, Employments, and Charges had they ever poſſeſs'd in their lives? Was it not a fine ſight to ſee *Don Mario*, who had never worn a Sword in his life, declared *Generaliſſimo* of the Holy Church, receiving at the ſame time, with the General's Truncheon, a Licence to keep the Sword alwaies in the Scabbard? For when he offered to draw it, and ſwore to defend the Church with it, the *Pope* diſpens'd with him; ſaying, *Brother, put thy Sword up into thy Scabbard, if thou wilt have part in my Kingdom.* To which Command *Don Mario* hath been alwaies obedient.

When

When the Cardinal was called to the Government, he was reading the Fables of *Æſop*, and *Don Auguſtino* was making love to a little Courtiſan of *Siena*: and yet on a ſudden the latter was called from the arms of a baſe Strumpet, and made worthy of the Marriage of a great Princeſs; and the other from his Paſtime of *Æſop*, was admitted to the management of the greateſt Affairs, not of *Rome* only, but of the whole World.

Now what proſperous iſſue can Negotiations have with ſuch a Race of Politicians? Where ſhall Embaſſadors begin, at the Head or the Tail? What devices ſhall they have to unfold their meaning to ſuch as want ſenſe? Unleſs all *Popes* ſhould imitate *Gregory* the Fifteenth, who in the beginning of his *Papacy* would not treat of any important matter with any Miniſter, but excuſed it by ſaying, *That he would ſtay till his Nephews were a little inſtructed in Political Negotiations*: And he had reaſon to ſtay, for in a ſhort time one of them had an ambitious Whimſey came into his Crown, that he underſtood more than all the Cardinals, and his Uncle to boot; and accordingly he acted and commanded, without communicating with either.

'Tis a tedious thing to Princes Miniſters, who are old Stagers in Councils and Affairs, to have to do with raw, unexperienced Perſons, and ſuch as are much different from the Primitive Governours of the Church; who, though introduc'd barefoot, and ill clad, and void of all experience, yet their native ſimplicity ſerv'd them very well for the preſerving a virtuous Life, far from Political cunning: whereas the Nephews of the preſent *Pope* enter ſimple, not to edifie the People, and adorn the Church with good

Lives; but to Lord it over Princes by Policy not comprehensible.

Most Agents lose their time in learning the nature of those that bear sway at *Rome*, who are indeed unknown to all. They study in what manner to treat with such Persons. They strive to gain the affection of those Governours, who are without any, unless we will say, That they have given up all their affection to heap up Money. They labour to ingratiate with those Nephews who possess all the Grace of the *Pope*: And in a word, Night and day they contrive to know and be known to the Nephews at *Rome*, in order to their better success there.

But what? in the fairest of these Intrigues, after so many watchings and toils, after having understood those whom they understood not before, in the greatest heat of their Negotiations, in the beginning of their joy for having found out the right way of managing Affairs, and whilst they are beginning to lay open their Interests to Persons by this time arriv'd to some capacity, behold the death of the *Pope* falling out on a sudden, drives from the *Vatican* and from the Government those Nephews who are now understood and experienc'd, to introduce others ignorant, unexperienc'd, and so void of all Political Knowledge, as never to have seen the Court but on the outside, Consultations but in Sport, nor Publick Ministers save in their Coaches.

In this manner poor Embassadors are forced to turn over a new leaf, and like young Scholars put to a new School, they must learn over again what they had learn'd before, to their no small dissatisfaction, as well as injury to their Affairs.

These so sudden shiftings of the Scene, puts the Ministers

Miniſters all in diſorder; and the only ſatisfaction they find, is to laugh at the new Princes of the Church, who have ſo ſuddenly leap'd from the Dunghil to the Throne.

Cardinal *Onofrio* Brother to *Urban* the Eighth, who was taken from a Cloiſter of *Capucines*, and introduc'd into the Affairs of the Court, could never accuſtom himſelf to live in any other manner, but in that ſlovenly way of the *Capucines*; ſo that when he was to receive any Embaſſadors, he committed the moſt ridiculous pieces of clowniſhneſs imaginable.

One day ſpeaking about ſome War of the *Turk* in *Germany*, with the Imperial Embaſſador, who deſir'd him to prevail with the *Pope* to ſuccour Chriſtendom, which was endanger'd in that Country; the good Cardinal fetching a great ſigh, began to ſay, *Ah, my Lord Embaſſador, thoſe Coleworts, thoſe Coleworts in the Capucines Garden, make me always remember my former condition*; and ſo continuing a Diſcourſe of a quarter of an hour, concerning the goodneſs of Coleworts, the excellence of Turneps, and the manner how the *Capucines* boil them in good fat broth; ſeeming to lick his fingers almoſt at every ſyllable, and to ſwallow a Turnep at every word.

Another time going to viſit the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, and forgetting himſelf to be a Cardinal, and not a Capucine, he ask'd on a ſudden, *Of what Covent is your Reverend Fatherſhip a Son?*

The Embaſſador, perceiving the ſimplicity of the Perſon, anſwer'd him laughing, *Father, I am no Son of a Covent; but indeed I ſend Sons to the Covent, of whom perhaps your Fatherſhip is one.* The Cardinal finding his error, thought to mend it by replying to the Embaſſador, *Your Excellence may pleaſe to excuſe me;*

me; for the remembrance of the Capucines is so fresh in my mind, that I take all for Capucines that speak with me: The Embassadour laught; and rising up, said, *'Tis well, my Lord, I will be gone then, that I may not be accounted a Capucine by your Eminence.*

Moreover, whilst Ministers of Princes talk'd with him of matters of State, the answers he return'd were about watering of Gardens, sweeping of Churches, ordering of Vestries, rising in the morning, entring into the Choire, begging Alms, and so of all such other things, wherein he was a Master. Nor did he make any difference of persons in his Conferences, but us'd the same Style to every body, *Your Fathership will pardon me.* And in his Complements with Embassadours Royal, he would often say, *I shall accompany you to the door of the Cloister.*

I might relate a thousand such stories, but I will not lengthen the work more than I ought; although there is scarce any Nephew of *Popes* whose mean and carriage, after their sudden advancement to the degree of Princes, affords me not matter for a long discourse.

'Tis enough that publick Ministers cannot forbear laughter and scorn in their negotiating with them, which serve to inform them of their infirmities. Whence the Embassadour *Justiniani*, being ask'd one day, *Whether he was goeing to negotiate with* Astalli? Answer'd, *Not to negotiate with him, but to instruct him.* And indeed, such instruction is extreme necessary to the best of them.

But that which displeases them most, is, that after so much pains taken to instruct them, they must lose the fruits thereof, and begin all the same course over again with their Successors.

The

The laſt difficulty in managing affairs with the Nephews, ariſeth from their incomparable Avarice, which is ſo predominant in them, that they appear meer inſenſible Statues in every thing elſe, but in ſtudying the means how to make themſelves great.

Boniface the ninth was the moſt dextrous, ſubtle, and ingenious *Pope* for accumulating wealth, that ever ſate in the *Vatican*; whence he was wont to ſay, *That he had rather have a little Fiſh in hand, than a great Dolphin in the main Sea*; And at other times, *That an Egg in the morning is better than a Hen at night.* And accordingly, he was contented to loſe the intereſt of a whole year to anticipate the payment of a day, and he alwaies made his Receivers bring him every night the money they had collected; and ſometimes he would ſit up till midnight expecting them, in regard he could not ſleep otherwiſe through fear of being undone.

This exorbitant Covetouſneſs wholly withdrew his mind from the care of the Papacy, both in Civil and Eccleſiaſtical matters; Embaſſadours could not pleaſe him better, than to diſcourſe to him of the means to get money; and when they mentioned other matters pertaining to the publick good, they receiv'd no anſwer ſutable to the queſtion; becauſe his thoughts were not imploy'd about what the Embaſſadours ſpoke, but about what the Receivers of Gabels and Taxes had ſaid to him; with whom he entertain'd long conferences, little caring to give audience to Embaſſadours.

Clement the ſeventh, who never ſhew'd himſelf ſo extraordinarily covetous, though covetous too, had his mind diſtracted in the like manner, from what was at any time ſpoken to him, if it were not about money:

money: Whence being one day requeſted by the Imperial Embaſſadour to joyn with the Emperour, and other Princes, in a League againſt the Turk; the Embaſſadour perceiving that the *Pope* gave him no anſwer, ſaid, *Your Holineſs ſaies nothing to my Propoſal*; Whereunto the *Pope* return'd, *No, for you counſel us to ſpend money, and we are thinking on the means to get it.*

Paul the fourth, ſtanding one day in a great muſing in the preſence of Cardinal *Campeggio*, was ask'd by him, *Why he ſtood ſo penſive?* The *Pope* anſwer'd, *I am thinking whether you (who perhaps may be my Succeſſour) are likely to be richer than my ſelf.*

Sixtus Quintus, who was one of the greateſt *Popes* that the *Vatican* ever ſaw, had no other fault, but that he ſpent moſt hours of the day in deviſing what might be done to bring money into his Cheſts. And he ſeems to have died with the ſame thoughts in his head; for being ask'd by the *Venetian* Embaſſadour, two daies before his death, *How he did?* He anſwered, *I ſhould be much better, if I had more money to ſpend.*

Urban the eighth, in the war he had with the Duke of *Parma*, and other confederate Princes, loſt no little reputation, in attempting the deſtruction of a Prince ſo well deſerving of the Church, and hazarding the ſafety of all *Italy*; yet he car'd not ſo much for the diſhonour which the Church receiv'd in his perſon, nor for the great murmur of the people, as for the money disburs'd in it; lamenting the ſame often with his Nephews, and reproving them for *having engaged him in a War of ſo great expence*: as if the loſs of money made deeper impreſſion in the *Pope's* heart, than the detriment of the Church and of Chriſtendom.

Moſt

Moſt of the *Pope's* Nephews call the hours wherein they give Audience to Embaſſadours, *hours of poverty, and of miſery*; becauſe they cannot at thoſe times think how to advance their Houſes: and therefore they ſtrive to ſhift them off as much as poſſible, and many times they promiſe all before 'tis ask'd, only to be at their liberty.

Some will not allow it to be meerly charity in *Alexander*, to aſſume to himſelf the load of all Civil Affairs of importance; but only a deſign to lighten his Nephews of it, and leave them more time to beſtow on contrivance to fill their Coffers.

Better perhaps 'twould be for the Church, and the State too, if all *Popes* would do the like; for to lay the weight of great affairs upon ſuch weak ſhoulders, is to confound their underſtandings, and put them in danger of ſhaming themſelves by diſcovering their addle brains in buſineſs: As a good Nephew did in diſcourſe with the French Embaſſadour about the number of Proteſtants in *France*; for meaning to ſay, *How many Hereticks are there in* France? He miſtook, and ſaid, *How many Piſtols are there in* France? Which errour the Embaſſadour well obſerving, and knowing the Cardinal Nephew more intent on the money of his Coffers than the benefit of the Church, he anſwer'd, *The King my Maſter hath not ſo many Hereticks in his Kingdom, as he hath Piſtols in his Exchequer.*

'Tis not 2000 Ages, ſince a certain *Pope's* Nephew ſaid to a familiar friend of his, who brought him notice, that the Spaniſh Embaſſadour was coming to negotiate with him: *Theſe Embaſſadours bring us buſineſs, and not money, talking all day long with us ſo tedious-*

tediouſly, as if we were ſlaves, and not (Padroni) *Maſters of the Church and State.*

The ſame Cardinal, as often as he return'd to his Chamber from accompanying the publick Miniſters (who had viſited him) to the door, as the cuſtom is, would fall into a paſſion, and ſcornfully ſay to his Servants: *I have loſt two hours time with this pitiful Embaſſadour, and he has gain'd ſome with me; if any other come, ſay I am not at home.*

But worſe was that other, (not long ſince dead) who, as much as he could, avoyded the audience of ſuch Miniſters, ſometimes pretending indiſpoſition, and ſometimes that he was not at home; which the *Pope* his Uncle underſtanding ask'd him the reaſon, *Why he did ſo?* The Cardinal anſwer'd plainly, *Whilſt I am with Embaſſadours, my Coffers fill with nothing but wind; but when I am alone, they fill with money.*

The ſame good Nephew had another cuſtome, that when notice was given of the arrival of an Embaſſadour at the Gate, he would in diſpleaſure cry, *I would his neck were broke.* But when 'twas told him that an Officer of the Datary (that is, the Exchequer) was at the door, he would cry with joy, *He is welcome.*

A certain Embaſſadour, knowing this Nephew's humour, contriv'd how to make his Viſits not grievous; and to that purpoſe, before he deſired Audience, or at leaſt at the ſame time, he thought fit to give him notice; that he deſir'd to ſpeak with him for nothing elſe but the reſignation of a certain Benefice, which the Prince his Maſter intended to make into the hands of his Holineſs's Nephews.

The device took well, for the greedy Nephew believing

lieving it true, receiv'd him with a very good countenance: and the Embaſſadour fail'd not to uſher in his publick buſineſs with a Preface about reſigning the foreſaid Benefice or Abbey, although the Prince his Maſter knew no more of any ſuch thing than I; and ſo got a fair reception.

'Twere good, that all publick Agents would put the ſame tricks upon thoſe avaricious Nephews, and not be ſo ſcrupulous as they are; ſince the Nephews make no ſcruple to ſlight their addreſſes, to breake off all Negotiations, and to confound whatſoever is offer'd to them.

Without ſuch ſuch inventions they are like to get little good from the viſits to the Nephews, who conſider nothing but their own Intereſts, and are indifferent to thoſe of Princes; whence 'tis eaſie to judge they will do little good in thoſe matters, in which they are engag'd with an ill will.

This may ſerve concerning the difficulties which Princes Miniſters meet with in their affairs with the *Popes* and their Nephews, and how to avoid the ſame. Let us now proceed to the Enquiry, *Why the Families of* Popes *continue not long in Grandeur.*

Some compare the *Nipotiſmo* to a Tree which is guarded by all, whilſt laden with fruit; but as ſoon as it happens to be deprived thereof, either by the hands of men, or progreſs of time, every body forſakes it, and nature her ſelf leaves it barren, dry, and hateful, even to the eye of the beholders.

I do not altogether like this compariſon, becauſe Trees bear fruit for others; whereas the good Nephews of *Popes* take all to themſelves: and I ſhould rather compare them to Piſmires, which all day long go from place to place, ſeeking proviſions wherewith to

fill

fill their Nests, and stop not a moment till they see them full.

There is no body but wonders to behold how the Families of *Popes* daily decline, there being scarce two found that have continued one intire Age, or which remain in the same splendour wherein they were seen to shine, not only during the Reign of the *Popes* their Kinsmen, but for some lustres after; and although some may seem at present to be found great, yet my Observation cannot therefore be decry'd as false, in regard of other reasons to be alledged concerning this matter.

There is no doubt, but many Families are found at this day in *Rome* of good quality and esteem, who have had *Popes* descended from them before *Sixtus* the fourth; as the Family of *Conti* hath had two *Popes* in the *Vatican*, *Innocent* the third, and *Gregory* the ninth; The Family of *Fiesco*, reputed at present the chief Family of *Genoa*, hath likewise afforded two *Popes*, *Innocent* the fouth, and *Adrian* the fifth; And so that of *Orsini*, hath had *Nicholas* the third; That of *Savelli*, *Honorius* the fourth; *La Gaettana*, hath had *Boniface* the eighth; *Picolomini*, *Pius* the second; *Colonna*, *Martin* the fifth; not to mention others, that have had their *Popes* too.

But this is the difference: 'tis one thing for *Popes* to issue from a Noble Family, and another for Families to rise from the *Popes*. The foresaid Houses received not their Splendour, Nobility, and Wealth from the Papal Grandeur, but it may rather be said, that the Papal Grandeur received splendour from those Families.

Besides, in those daies the Nephews of *Popes* remain'd at home, and did not come to *Rome*; if they did,

did, they brought not with them that insatiable avarice which Nephews bring (or have brought hitherto) when they enter into possession of the *Vatican.*

I mean not therefore to speak of those Families which have been in great esteem as well since they have had *Popes* of them, as before. None of these is advanc'd by the Papacy, but remains in the same manner without growth in Ambition, Riches, or Glory.

Particularly, the House of *Colonna* (which is at present one of the most considerable, not of *Rome* only, but of all *Italy*) hath so little valu'd the Papal Grandeur in its lot, that they have often persecuted it, only to let the World see that the *Colonneses* pretended not to glory in the Treasures of the Church, but in the merit of the persons, exemplified in the valour of so many illustrious men, who have spent much of their bloud for the service of the *Popes* themselves.

'Tis certain, that by two *Popes* issu'd out of the House of *Colonna*, the *Colonneses* have had so little advantage, either in dignity or wealth, that they may say that the *Popes* were taken out of their Family, and that they have the honour to be *Colonneses* of the House of *Colonna*, but not *Colonneses* of the House of *Popes*. But there are many other Families, whose glory it is to have had their rise from the fortune given them by *Popes*, without which they would never have been any thing considerable; and these are the Families of which I am to speak.

The Family of *Rovere*, from which *Sixtus* the fourth was descended, of it self was very noble, and had liv'd so for above two Ages in *Lombardy*, but by various changes and accidents it was declin'd to such

a degree that the chief branch was remov'd to *Savona*, and there remain'd many years in a mediocrity of fortune amongst the principal Citizens; till *Sixtus*, being made *Pope*, determin'd to revive it to a greater fortune at the cost of the *Vatican*, and the publick Treasury.

All the glories of this House, though dispersed here and there by *Pope Sixtus*, yet in a little time became confined to the sole possession of the Dutchy of *Urbin*, which indeed the House of *Rovere* possessed, but not without great persecutions for the space of 150 years and more, beginning from 1475 till 1631. When the said House was extinguished by the death of *Francesco Maria*, the last Duke, or of *Guido Ubaldo*, if I remember right; there remaining no other Heirs save *Donna Vittoria della Rovere*, married to *Ferdinand* the second great Duke of *Tuscany*.

It may be said, as I shall afterwards prove, that this was the only Family (rais'd by *Popes*) that continued so long together in greatness: and I believe the goodness of the Dukes, who succeeded one after another, contributed not a little to this continuance, which seems to surpass the ordinary measures.

But if we will measure things with the right rule, we shall find that the Family of *Rovere* liv'd in Grandeur but one Age; for there is no necessity to begin to reckon from the time of *Sixtus*, but from *Julius* the second, who was of the same House; who seeing it much declin'd by reason of the great persecutions of *Alexander* the Sixth, determined to succour it, though not by burdening the Church, which was in the year 1510. Neither is it needful to extend the reckoning till 1631. because for above twenty years before the death of the last Duke, the Ecclesiasticks fore-

foreseeing the fall of the Dutchy into their own hands, in regard of the great age of the Duke and his want of male Children, they resolv'd to take possession of it by degrees; and accordingly insulted over the poor old Duke, keeping him as if he had been their Subject: wherefore it may reasonably be said, that the House of *Rovere*, rais'd by *Sixtus* continu'd not in grandeur so much as one full Age.

The Family of *Cibo* hath alwayes produc'd men eminent both for Learning and Valour; amongst whom there were two *Popes*, *Boniface* the ninth, and *Innocent* the eighth; the former in these dayes, when Nephews were not wont to enter into *Rome* with the *Popes*, and the latter immediately after the death of the abovementioned *Sixtus*. But this Innocent the eighth would not oppress the Church to enrich his Kindred, whom he saw wealthy enough, and of good account amongst the chief Citizens of the Commonwealth of *Genoa* his Countrey.

He gave them indeed some Offices, but of so small value, that this *Popes* Kindred did not think it worth while to leave *Genoa* for *Rome*, and so, after the death of *Innocent*, they despis'd their Citizenships of *Rome*, and return'd to *Genoa*; where within a short time by the fault of Cardinal *Cibo*, they left the Offices given them by the *Pope* their Kinsman, and were forc'd to betake themselves to other courses for a livelihood; well knowing that the Riches receiv'd from the Church stay not long in the hands of the receivers. And they did wisely, for had they remain'd at *Rome*, perhaps they would not be at this day in that grandeur, esteem, and

wealth as they are in the City of *Genoa*.

Of the Family of *Alexander* the Sixth, that barbarous Pope, there would be much to say, did not the consideration of gravity oblige me to pass over many reasons of the destruction thereof. This *Alexander* was descended from the noble Family of *Lenzoli* in *Spain*, being Son of *Goffredo Lenzoli*; but containing both the name and surname of his family, he took that of *Boria*, which was afterwards turn'd to *Borgia*.

From this Pope sprung the house of *Borgia*, and was by him encreas'd and advanc'd to that grandeur, whereof we have spoken in other places. It was divided into two branches, one whereof remain'd in *Spain* in possession of its ancient honours, and the other came into *Italy*; where it became so great by the many Principalities conferr'd on it by the Pope, that it seem'd likely to flourish to eternity. But on the contrary, in less than half an Age, it decayed so fast, that 'tis above fifty years since the Family of *Borgia* became extinct in *Italy*.

'Tis true, the Branch in *Spain* continues in some splendour, and possesses at psesent the Principality of *Squillace*, which was given by Pope *Alexander* to his Family: But this Principality is no great matter, *Don Ferdinando Borgia*, the presents Possessor little caring for it, for the same reason, as some think, of being purchas'd with the money of the Church; and glorying only in his possessing what his Ancestors had got by their valour, and himself gets by the good service he performs to the Crown, which reckons him one of the chiefest men of *Spain*.

After the Introduction of *Nipotismo*, the Family

of *Picolomini* had another Pope, to wit, *Pius* the third, who lived so short a time, that he was fain to leave his Kindred *Picoli huomini* (small men) indeed; although they have kept themselves in the rank of Nobility, by having receiv'd considerably from the Church, but only for eminent services perform'd to the same.

We have spoken sufficiently of the House of *Rovere*, and though *Julius* the second, who was of it, might induce us to speak of it here again: yet for brevities sake, we will pass to the Family of the *Medici*, which was indeed amplifi'd by, but not first rais'd by *Popes*, but rather the *Popes* rais'd by it.

Leo the tenth did his utmost to render his House potent, not in *Rome* only, but also in *Florence*; where it was one of the chiefest of that Commonwealth. But what this *Leo* could not, *Clement* the seventh (of the same Family) effected, having with the Emperours assistance enthralled his own Countrey to make his Nephews Princes.

This House hath maintain'd it self for above 300 years together in greatness, and I believe will so continue, because it stands not on the same foundation with other Families of *Popes*. First, because (as I said before) it has rather given *Popes* to the Church, than receiv'd Being from the *Popes*, without need of whom it kept it self long in grandeur. And though at first view the great height of this House may seem to be of right attributed to the force, which *Clement* the seventh us'd to enslave his Countrey, and render his Kindred Princes: Yet this is not pertinent to the question; for *Clement* took not from the Church to give to them, but only destroy'd a Republick, which was an obstacle to

the eyes of all *Popes*, and where his Family was already in chief command. Besides, the *Medici* were therein as much oblig'd to the House of *Austria*, by whose Force and Power they undoubtedly receiv'd the Principality which they possess with so much glory. And accordingly *Ferdinand* the second and his Ancestors have always shewed themselves most grateful for the benefit.

The Family of *Farnese*, which is that of *Paul* the third, Successor to *Clement*, came out of *Germany* into *Italy*, in company of the Emperours, who often made this Voyage attended by a great number of *Dutch* Gentlemen; here the chief of this Family gave in divers cases great proofs of their valour, and were therefore preferr'd by the chief and most Potent Princes of *Italy* to greater Dignities and Offices than those which they had possess'd at home, as well Civil as Military, whereof they acquitted themselves well.

The *Popes* especially were ambitious to have them at their service, and by their means obtain'd sundry Victories; without which 'tis likely the Church would have been in great distress. In the Papacy of *Paschal* the second, in the year 1100. *Pietro Farnese*, Captain of the Cavalry of the Church, did wonders in its service, having obtain'd a most glorious Victory against the *Pope*'s Enemies on the Coasts of *Tuscany*, restoring to *Costano* the name of *Orbitello*, a very ancient Colony, and repleniſhing the same with much people.

Prudentio Son of this *Pietro* under the Papacy of *Lucius* the second, and *Pepone* and *Panuccio* Sons of *Prudentio*, under the Papacy of *Innocent* the third, effected great things in defence of the Church, which

which was greatly afflicted with the Schism of the Emperors.

The Grandfather of *Paul* the third was *Ramecio Farneſe*, who overcame, ſubdu'd and deſtroy'd all the Rebels of the Holy Church, which in great numbers moleſted the State Eccleſiaſtical, and almoſt all Chriſtendom, he being Captain of the Papal Army in the time of *Eugenio* the fourth, who indeed was a very worthy *Pope*, if for nothing elſe, yet for the good intention he had to reward the valour of this great Captain; and I think he rewarded him abundantly by this teſtimony which he gave him, *The Church is ours, becauſe* Farneſe *hath given it us.*

In ſhort, in the Civil Broils, which continu'd for aboue four Ages between the *Popes* and the Emperors. the Family of *Farneſe* with incredible valour and felicity reliev'd the drooping ſtate of the Holy Church.

Nevertheleſs the laſt *Popes Urban* and *Innocent*, ingrateful for theſe benefits, went about to ruine this well deſerving Family. Now if they perſecute thoſe who with their own Blood and Fortunes have ſerv'd the Church, what man will ever ſerve it for the future?

Theſe two Cities were indeed ſeparated from the Church, and given to the *Farneſi*, who at firſt found great oppoſition, and became Maſters of it with great difficulty, and that not before the time of *Pope Julius* the third, in the year 1550. which *Pope* gave them inveſtiture in deſpite of *Charles* the fifth, (who could never be perſwaded to conſent) and aſſigned them a conſiderable ſumme of money for the keeping them.

Within this last forty years the *Popes* have persecuted these innocent Princes in that manner, that without the assistance of Forreign Crowns, and some of the Princes of *Italy* they had been exterminate before this, and received so notable a loss, that had it been compared with what they had received from *Paulus* the third, it would doubtless have been found they had received less than they had lost: from whence it may be justly said, they have not enjoyed that Principality which they possest, as a feud of the Church, in that peace and repose, for this last half age, as they ought in reason to have done. For those *Popes* that gave it them first, gave them also priviledges to enjoy it without molestation: and therefore those *Popes* that have of late troubled the *Farnesi* with so much expense, ought in reason (if there be any such thing in *Rome*) to have forfeited their feudale Rights.

Julius the third, he also failed not to do his part towards the raising of his Family, which was of the *De Montes*, by giving them several offices, and sums of money, by which means in a short time they became very great; but half an age was not past, but it began by degrees to decay and shrink into that mediocrity it is in at this day: which is but small in respect of the condition it was in after the death of *Julius*, who saw them advanc'd, but did not live to see their declension; it being a general Maxime amongst all the *Popes* Nephews, that they see them advanc'd but to the highest pitch of honour, but live not to see them fall to the lowest point of disgrace.

But the greatest Family of all was the *Caraffi*, rais'd

rais'd to that height by *Paul* the fourth, though of it ſelf for ſeveral Ages before, very illuſtrious: The authority they had in *Rome*, with the command of ſeveral Lands and Caſtles belonging to the Church, made this name like to be eternal, and being fortified with ſuch ſtrong banks, not at all ſubject to the injury of time.

But if ever any Family of the *Popes* were in a ſhort time precipitated from the greateſt height to the loweſt of meanneſs, it was this of the *Caraffi* from *Paul* the fourth, which continued not four year in that Splendour and Eminence the *Pope* had plac'd it, he himſelf having laid the foundation of their greatneſs and ruine.

Notwithſtanding *Paul* the fourth left his Nephews no ſmall ſtore of Riches, although they were baniſht from *Rome*: which they enjoyed till *Pius* the fourth was preferr'd to the Chair; who being *Pope*, and not able to endure their inſolencies, he got them into his hands; and forming a Proceſs againſt them, he hang'd ſome of them, beheaded others, and ſequeſtred their Eſtates, deſtroying in that manner the Honſe of the *Caraffi*, with no ſmall guſt to the Romans, who frequently declared their diſſatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Caraffi*.

But ſome will object, that the Houſe of *Caraffi*, do at this preſent flouriſh in *Naples* in great honour and wealth, and may be reckoned amongſt the Principal there as well for Splendour and Magnificence, as Wealth, of which they enjoy not a little.

To this may be anſwered with the ſame reaſon I have alledged before, where I ſpake of the houſe of *Borgia*, divided into two Branches, one in

in *Spain*, the other in *Naples*; for the House of the *Caraffi*, when *Paul* the fourth was made *Pope*, was divided also into two Branches, one of them remaining in *Rome* by the acquisition of a new Estate, the other in *Naples* in possession of what they had got before.

The Lords of the *Caraffi* enjoy at present in *Naples* many Signiories, as particularly the Dutchy of *Matalone*, which they had enjoyed a hundred years before *Paul* the fourth, without interruption, being anciently Dukes from the time of *Ferdinando* first King of *Naples*, and reckon'd amongst his principal Favourites; and are still esteem'd of very well by the Crown of *Spain*, though in the revolutions of *Naples*, upon I know not what considerations, the affection *Philip* the fourth had for a long time for the Duke of *Matalone*, was observed to grow cold.

This Branch that remained in *Naples* received no benefit or advantage by that which was establish'd in *Rome*, which last being extinguish'd by the two *Popes* aforesaid by the death and sequestration of so many *Caraffi*; the other remained in *Naples* daily augmenting by the favours and priledges they receive from the Crown of *Spain*.

Neither are the Neopolitan *Caraffi* of the same condition with the Roman, they having nothing, as many believe, or at least, very little of the Church Lands in their possession, which continued not long to the other House, not so much as to the second Generation; and therefore these Lords are still so considerable in *Naples*, because their Estates sprang rather from the reward of their valour, than the oppression of the poor.

All

All this notwithwanding, the People of *Naples* were always diſaffected to the Houſe of *Matalone*; for which reaſon in the Revolution of *Maſanello*, *Don Joſeph Caraffa* was ſlain by the fury of the People, his heart pull'd out of his breaſt, and his body drawn all about the City, with this Exclamation, *This is he that betray'd the moſt faithful People of Naples.* Beſides, there were ſeveral Palaces of the Dukes, full of ineſtimable Furniture, burnt, without being able to preſerve one; and I being then in *Naples*, heard ſeveral cry, *We muſt burn all, to purge the Houſe of* Caraffa *from the Leproſie of the reſt of the* Caraffi; alluding to them who in the time of *Paul* the Fourth had made themſelves odious to all the World, as well as to *Rome*.

The Family of the *Buoncompagni* was conſiderable above thirty years after the death of *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which was the Perſon rais'd them to that height; for though before they were in ſome degree of Nobility, yet their Eſtate was but narrow and ſmall; however in the twelve years of his Papacy he let them get ſo much, that without any great difficulty, they liv'd like Princes after the death of that *Pope*, who died in *March* 1585.

Giacomo Buoncompagno, General for the Holy Church, left many Sons all rich, and allied to good Houſes; notwithſtanding in a ſhort time all was conſumed: and though there was not one laviſh or profuſe perſon in the Family, though they had ſeveral Cardinalſhips and other Charges in *Rome*, yet could not all prevent their growing worſe every day: And had not two Marriages ſuſtained them, and put them into the condition they are in, which yet is but mean in reſpect of the grandeur they were in before, they had

had certainly before this been destroy'd.

But the greatest wonder, in the particular of the sudden destruction of the *Popes* Families, was in the House of *Peretti*, rais'd by *Sixtus* the Fifth. That *Pope*, to immortalize his Name, and the Grandeur of his House, which was but of very low extraction, married two of his Nephews, or Nephews Sons, I know not which, into the principallest Families in *Rome*; giving each of them considerable Estates in Land, and an infinite quantity of Money: and that it might not meet with any untoward accident to subvert it, he settled their Estates in the surest and best places he could, thinking thereby to secure and establish his Family.

Ten years after the death of *Sixtus*, there were seven Males of the House of *Peretti* alive, that is, in the year 1600. all of them very rich; but particularly they which had the Inheritance of Cardinal *Montalto*, who left his Nephews an Estate of a hundred thousand Crowns in yearly Rent, besides what they had afore.

Many People conceiv'd this Family was establish'd for ever; and who would not have thought so, considering the number and fertility of the Males, their Alliance with the greatest Families, their Riches, and in short, their enjoyment of all things necessary to the immortalizing a Family? Yet the Name, the Wealth, the Grandeur of this House, did all vanish like smoak at the death of Cardinal *Francesco Peretti*, who died in the beginning of *Innocent* the Tenth's Papacy, with no small trouble to the *Romans*, who loved his person exceedingly, having found him full of actions of generosity and noblenes to all that had to do with him.

And

And ſo was the Houſe of *Peretti* extinct, not being able to continue half an Age. Yet notwithſtanding, the death of the Cardinal was the riſe of another Family from the *Pope*, which is called the *Savelli*, into which one of his Siſters was married, who remained Heir to a vaſt and ineſtimable Patrimony. Some People are confident, That if the Houſe of *Peretti* had continued, the *Savelli* would have been in an ill condition; ſo as there was no great hurt done, to loſe one Family, and have another rais'd.

The Houſe of the *Sfondrati* yielded to the Papacy *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who though ſprung from *Milan* himſelf, yet nevertheleſs as to his Original, he may not improperly be ſtyl'd both the Son and the Father of *Cremona*, a Town (conſidering its Antiquity) amongſt the principal of *Italy*, beſides that, it has in all times produc'd men very eminent both in Learning and Wars. In this City, amongſt the moſt conſiderable Citizens, was this Houſe of *Sfondrati*, always enjoying the greateſt Office in the Council, which procur'd no ſmall envy in the hearts of many; inſomuch as ſome people excited the *Cambiaghi* (which was then a Family of great credit and eſteem in the City) to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Ambition of the *Sfondrati*, who at that time appear'd to carry all before them.

The *Cambiaghi*, back'd and ſupported by other of the Citizens, endeavour'd what they could the diminution of the *Sfondrati*; and from hence aroſe (not to ſay Civil Wars) great feuds and animoſities between them, which continued till ſuch time as *Girolamo Sfondrati* was called to *Milan*, where meeting with greater Advancements, he reſolved to leave *Cre-*

mona

mona for ever: And from this Family, now become *Milaneſe*, *Gregory* the Fourteenth deſcended, who would always acknowledge *Cremona* to be his Country; yet would declare often, whilſt he was a young Student there, He would never return to *Cremona*, till he was made Biſhop of that place: Afterwards arriving at a competency of years, and other qualifications, he begg'd and obtain'd very readily the Biſhoprick of *Pius Quartus*, being a perſon of great worth: He was alſo made Cardinal whilſt he was in *Cremona*, with no ſmall joy to the whole City, who made great Expreſſions of their Satisfactions, by Bonfires and other Ceremonies, at the news of his Promotion.

How careful this *Pope* was of his Relations, we have ſufficiently ſhewed in its proper place: 'tis enough that not contented with the Marriage of two of his Nephews, towards the perpetuation of his Family, and one of them in particular with the Daughter of the Prince of *Maſſa*; he deſign'd alſo to make *Emilius Sforzato* his Brothers Son, who was already entred to the Degreee of Holy Orders, to reſign his Cardinals Cap: but propounding of it to the Conſiſtory, the Cardinals apprehended it a buſineſs of ſo great ſcandal, they intreated him to content himſelf, that he had married two Nephews, that were already furniſhed with Children, to ſecure the continuance of his Family for ever, without any ſuch hainous and unjuſtifiable courſes.

But all this avail'd not at all; for in a ſhort time after the death of the *Pope*, in a Months time there were three Males of that Family died, as it were by Judgment from Heaven, to mortifie the ambition of thoſe *Popes* who deſtroy Heaven it ſelf, to fill the World with their Nephews. And thus by little and little

little the Houſe of *Sfondrati* declined, with all the diligence and care they could uſe to hold out full forty years, though they made another Perſon take their Name upon him, that had neither Alliance nor Friendſhip with them.

Of the Houſe of *Aldobrandini*, from whence *Clement* the Eighth proceeded, who was created *Pope* in *January* 1592. we cannot ſpeak without touching the Cardinal *Aldobrandino* too neerly, who is the only perſon ſuſtains the Name of a Family, that ſeem'd, for the Reaſons before, impoſſible to be irradicated; which may notwithſtanding be ſaid to be extinct, although the Cardinal bears the Name, and the Princeſs of *Roſſano* enjoys the Eſtate, as Heir to the Houſe of *Aldobrandino*; yet the one being a Woman, and the other a Prieſt, they cannot hope to recover it, unleſs ſome By-blow ſhould be produc'd: which, though it would be a neat piece of invention, I cannot imagine, becauſe the Cardinal was not at all ſcandalous in his Life, but always obſequious and reſpectful of the Princeſs; who made him Cardinal, and without which he might have been a *Brandino* a Jugler, but no *Aldobrandino*.

But to return to *Pope Clement*, I will affirm, That he, not having fail'd in any thing might furniſh *Rome* with the Family of the *Aldobrandini*, was not in arrear to his Name. In the time that he was *Pope*, there were eighteen Males of the Name of *Aldobrandini*, the greater part of which were married; and it was no ſmall ſatisfaction to him, to have ſo great a number of his Relations: upon which ſcore he us'd to ſay, *He was* Pope *of* Rome, *and Prince or Chief of the* Aldobrandini.

That

That which was moſt obſervable was, He took great pleaſure in careſſing his Relations; for when any of his Brothers or Nephews that were married came to him, he would tell them, *Let it be your buſineſs to provide Children, and it ſhall be mine to provide them Eſtates.*

His good Kindred did not neglect to make their advantage of the Counſel of *Clement*, nor he to maintain their Honours; by which means, there was ſcarce any other Family taken notice of in *Rome*; but the reputation of this, made a noiſe in every corner.

This Houſe of the *Aldobrandini* was well founded in the *Papacy* of *Urban* the Eighth, by the aſſiſtance of ſeven Brothers, Grand-children to *Clement*; all of them of ſo ſtrong and luſty complexions, the Phyſicians by common conſent did aſſert, there could not be any defect of Poſterity. Nevertheleſs, it has fail'd; and which is very conſiderable, there is not now one Male remaining of the Name.

The Houſe of *Borgheſe* deſcended from *Paul* the Fifth, who ſucceeded *Clement* (though *Leo* the Eleventh, who liv'd but five end twenty days, was betwixt them) ran the ſame fortune; but being of a later Plantation in *Rome*, it conſerves ſtill ſome weak and decrepit Branches. One of the principal deſigns *Alexander* had, to marry *Don Agoſtin* with the young Princeſs *Borgheſa*, was to unite the Eſtate and Patrimony of that tottering and declining Houſe, with the Houſe of *Chigi*, which at that time was riſing to great Emminence, though for a while they came not to *Rome*.

There

There was but one sprig left of the House of the *Borgheſe*, and which was worse, even that of a weak temper, and much subject to infirmities: which *Alexander* considering, and what accidents the viciſſitudes of the world might bring upon the house of the *Borgheſi*, he applyed all his endeavours to make a match (which succeeded well) with his Nephew, and gave him fair hopes of seeing the Patrimony of the *Borgheſi* in his own house.

And this is the state of the *Borgheſi* at present, who in the time of *Paul* the fifth, had above a dozen males of that name, of which there were not above six married; which was very considerable. But I return to speak how squares go in the world.

The Families of the *Ludoviſi*, *Barbarini*, *Panfili*, and *Chigi*, who yielded the four last *Popes*, I shall speak nothing of; becaus they have not enjoy'd the Benefits of the Papacy full out thirty years: so as it behoving us to let them rest in peace, I shall leave the observations of their Cataſtrophe to them which come after us.

One thing only I shall insert, that the *Aldobrandini* had at one time many more males alive, than are at present left of all these four houses together.

God Almighty bless them according to their own desire; which I do heartily pray, as having no animosity against those that are good.

Some have observ'd, and not with much difficulty, that the greatest part of the *Popes* Families were, before their advancement to the Papacy, of great antiquity and grandeur; but for many that rais'd themselves by the treasure of the Triple Crown, it is not so easie to finde; for instead of attaining to a perpetuation of their Families, they have not

been prolifique enough to defend them againſt a perpetual annihilation.

The houſe of the *Medici* in *Milan* was of above two hundred years antiquity, maintaining it ſelf in great Honour and Magnificence: But after *Pius* the fourth was elected *Pope* out of it, it grew worſe and worſe, declining with much more ſpeed than it was rais'd, and that after ſo extravagant a manner, they could diſcern themſelves riſe, but could not perceive their decay.

So the houſe of *Gregory* the fourteenth, who was born as I have ſaid of the ancient Family of the *Sfondrati*, who had made themſelves, as it were, immortal in *Milan*, not only in reſpect of the greatneſs of their Authority, but in the multitude of their Iſſue: yet in leſs than forty years after *Pope Gregory*, its leaves fell, and the whole Tree of the *Sfondrati* withered.

The Houſe of *Aldobrandini* alſo, from which *Clement* the eight was deſcended, from the time of the *Lombards* to the ſaid *Pope*, continued ſo eminent in *Florence*; there was at ſeveral times three and twenty of that name chief Standard-bearers, and all elected by the people: Nevertheleſs as ſoon as there was a *Pope* of this Family (which was *Clement*) it began to decay, and is now at that paſs, there is but one ſprig left of all the branches, and that infertile and incapable of recovering them, though he ſhould be made a *Pope*.

In ſhort, a thouſand other examples might be produc'd to evince what I have aſſerted; which examples though I have deſcrib'd in Hiſtory, yet are they enough to demonſtrate the *Popes* and their dependents, that all the care, contentions, and

and designs they go through for advancement of their particular Families, are not blessed by the Lord; because he suffers them not to prosper: it being more then certain, That when he keeps not the City, the Watchmen wake but in vain.

God Almighty not suffering those who have rais'd themselves to that greatness, out of the Bowels of those that are in Purgatory, themselves to remain long without punishment for their faults. He will not permit those Families that are elated and grown insolent with the wealth and blood of those poor carkases that are buried in their Churchyards, to continue long in this world themselves. Heaven is offended to behold sacred things transformed into profane, Churches into Palaces, Alms into Thefts, Crosses into Swords, Altars into Lordships, Holy things into Comedy and Sport, Divine Worship into an adoration of Riches, or rather adoration into Riches.

He that shall be pleas'd to run over the actions of all the *Popes*, that is, the History wherein all the Families that have afforded any *Popes* to the world, shall finde this for an infallible truth, that they are either all as it were extinct, or the small remainder that is left reduc'd to a very mean and inconsiderable condition: As if heaven could not endure the Patrimony of Saint *Peter* should be made an universal scandal to the world, and be an occasion of eternizing the memory of the Sacriledge they have committed.

I had lately an opportunity of discourse with an Abbot born in *Rome*, and experienc'd in their transactions: falling into some speech about the Nephews, and finding their vices, or at least errors

by him, with more vehemence reprehended, than by me, I took the courage to accost him in this manner, *How is it possible, Sir, that the Nephews of the Popes that are living, reading the lives of their Predecessors that are dead, that their Blood should not freeze in their veins to finde them extinct, some one way, some another, in spight of all their care to eternize themselves? how is it possible but some gripes of Conscience must torment them when they remember all their wealth belongs to the Church?*

The Abbot would suffer me to go on no further, but cutting me off in the middle, he reply'd, *Sir, He which has too much money, has no time to read over the lives of them that are dead; money puts thoughts alwayes into their heads of eternizing themselves, sometimes by acquiring, sometimes by contriving: The* Popes *Nephews do read Books, but it is only when they want money, and then 'tis too late.*

And who is there now, would not be amaz'd at such an answer? For my part I believe all the Romans are of the same opinion, and are in much doubt of the salvation of the Nephews. And accordingly another of them of judgement little differing from the Abbot, told his friend; *That the* Popes *Nephews must of necessity go to Purgatory, for they would be asham'd to go into Paradise, where Christ was, whom they had so wickedly despoil'd in this world.*

These expressions perhaps may seem but raillery, and appear but satyrical reflections at first sight; however they come from the very heart, though those that speak them may force themselves into a smile to dissemble it; as the Apothecary conceals the nauseousness of his pills by covering them with silver.

A great

A great part of the ſober men in *Rome* have been very ſerious in diſcovering the cauſe, why the *Popes* Families are of ſo little duration, ſeeing their riches ſo vaſt.

Some are of opinion, it proceeds from the reaſons aboveſaid, that is, that God Almighty takes them out of the world as a puniſhment for the injuries they have done the Church, in robbing it of the greateſt part of its treaſure, to make their own houſe inſolent and high.

Others are of opinion the Curſes and Execrations of the people do pierce the Divine Ears in ſuch manner, that the Divine Juſtice ſeems as it were oblig'd to take them away ſo immaturely, to give an account of the vileneſs of their behaviour towards the ſubjects of the Church.

And indeed the people of the Eccleſiaſtical State are ſo ill ſatisfied, and ſo ill treated by the ill Government of *Rome*, that is by the *Popes* Nephews who domineer and lord it over them, that from morning to night they fill the air with their exclamations, from one corner, *When will there be an end of their Extortions?* from another, *O God revenge the cruelties of theſe Nephews, who have ruin'd us.* Nor do the curſes thrown out againſt the Nephews reſt at the people only: The very Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticks themſelves do daily ſacrifice upon their Altars for the deſtruction of them, who devouring all they can get, leave not the good people ſo much as will pay for the celebration of a Maſs.

In the time the Duke of *Parma* was in Arms againſt the State Eccleſiaſtick, then in the poſſeſſion of the *Barberini*, the Cardinal *Franceſco* gave order for the performing the forty hours prayers in

his Cathedrals to incourage the People, and to oblige them to pray to God for the extirpation of the enemies of the Church. But whilſt the *Letany* of the Saints was ſinging, a certain *Roman* Gentleman, at the pronounciation of theſe words, *Ut inimicos Sanctæ Eccleſiæ humiliare digneris*, told a Friend of his that was by, *The Church has no greater Enemies than the* Barbarini, *who moleſt it both at home and abroad, ſo that our Prayers to heaven ought to be, to be delivered from them and their Arms.*

From hence it may be argu'd, That they who bear a ſecret hatred and deteſtation of the Nephews, retain it even in the Church, and the place where they ought to pardon all, and are ſtill contriving revenge; and becauſe they find there is no ſure way of freeing themſelves from their tyranny in this World, they ſend up their Prayers privately to Heaven: As if they were afraid of the correction of their *Popes*, who would by no means ſuffer the Faithful to appeal againſt their enormity to the Divine Tribunal, but for all that they do not deſiſt.

Others apply the ſmall durance of the *Popes* Families to that Philoſophical ſaying, *Nullum violentum durabile*, as if the great haſte and violence they uſe to make themſelves great were that that precipitated them: Like Plants, that by a thouſand Arts may be forc'd to bear fruit, and that out of ſeaſon: But how? Thoſe Artifices, that do offer violence, as it were, to Nature, do not conſerve it long; but, weakened by the ſupernatural force, it loſes in a ſhort time its native vigour and is not afterwards to be recovered by all the operations of Art.

'Tis indeed a fine ſight to ſee a Tree bear good fruit in Winter, if it could be made to produce for

ſeveral

ſeveral years; but if the water they uſe about the Root be but a little hotter than it ought, 'tis enough to ruine both fruit and tree; So as the heedleſneſs of the Gardener may deſtroy all that he thought to have done by Art contrary to Nature; for it is neceſſary the Root be watered with water warm'd to a juſt proportion to ſecure againſt the froſts in the nights, and that all convenient cultivation be us'd: Otherwiſe all will be ſpoil'd, and it will be impoſſible to preſerve a Tree that is by Art conſtrain'd beyond its own nature.

In the ſame manner it happens to the *Pope's* Nephews, who grow up on a ſudden by a violence they themſelves offer to their reaſon; and marching on towards their own greatneſs by unuſual waies, they ſeem horrid and uneaſie, as not being trodden or known by other people.

Others there are that alledge, amongſt other reaſons, why the *Pope's* Family are ſo tranſitory, their inexperience in the Art of Managery which is neceſſary for preſerving an Eſtate, their wealth raining down upon them without any ſweat or trouble, or contrivance of their own. Like Hebrews that deſpis'd the Manna ſent them from Heaven, they not only neglect to preſerve with any prudence and Oeconomy the great quantity of Riches, which is ſhower'd down into their Cheſts by the *Capricio* of fortune; but even nauſeate and abhor that, which they believe unſutable to their Nature.

If a Country-man by accident ſhould light upon a parcel of *Rubies*, at firſt ſight he would be much delighted with their Luſtre; but upon ſecond thoughts they would but trouble and perplex him, becauſe he knew not the value of a thing he had gain'd without labour.

But what shall I say? There is not any thing more dangerous, and which brings the life of man under more hazards, than the filling the belly too full: To eat intemperately, to swallow without measure, and to devour with eagerness and rapacity, must of necessity destroy Nature, and be the ruine of the whole: Sobriety is that which conduceth most to our health, because it gives the Stomach time to distribute the meat proportionably to the whole body.

The *Pope's* Nephews know not how to keep their Riches, because they touch them with their hands, but do not see them with their eyes, their greediness of heaping up on a sudden blinding them, and not suffering them to know the true worth of them: by which means they dwindle insensibly, and they themselves are not able to perceive it.

That which is gotten without pains, is in a short time lost without knowing the price of it: The greatest part of these Gamesters are either such as are loose and licentious young men, or else such as have had some good provision from fortune. The first adventure, because they have not yet found a way to live handsomly; the other, because they believe Fortune oblig'd to recruit them. The poor Trades-man, that sweats, and carks, and toils night and day, and all to get one poor Crown, will not certainly be so foolish to venture that in one moment, he gain'd with so much labour in so many hours. He does well, that keeps that he gain'd with difficulty: and he does well, who spends that he came by easily.

Were the Nephews of the *Pope* content with what Emoluments were justly their due, without doubt the greatness and opulence of their Families would be much longer liv'd: But they fill, devour, and cram

cram up their Stomach with more meat than Nature will ſuſtain; and therefore 'tis no wonder, if they be often forc'd to vomit that up with violence they had ſo immoderately devour'd.

Many have obſerved alſo, moſt of the *Pope's* Kindred have died young too; and I could inſtance in a thouſand examples: But for two reaſons I forbear; one is, not to grate too much upon the Nephews of our good *Pope Alexander*, nor have the long life of *Don Mario* caſt in my diſh, though indeed it is not above ten years ſince he had any relation to the *Pope*; the other is, becauſe I have ſomething elſe to think on.

THE

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES

Mentioned in this Book.

Sixtus IV. began his Papacy, *Anno*	1471
Innocent VIII.	1484
Alexander VI.	1492
Pius III.	1503
Julius II.	1504
Leo X.	1514
Adrian VI.	1522
Clement VII.	1524
Paul III.	1534
Julius III.	1550
Marcellus II.	1557
Paul IV.	1558

Pius IV.	1562
Pius V.	1568
Gregory XIII.	1574
Sixtus V.	1587
Urban VII.	1592
Gregory XIIII.	1593
Innocent IX.	1594
Clement VIII.	1596
Leo XI.	1607
Paul V.	1607
Gregory XV.	1623
Urban VIII.	1625
Innocent X.	1644
Alexander VII.	1655

FINIS.